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J. H. JESSE'S WORKS

MEMOIRS OF THE PRETENDERS

AND THEIR ADHERENTS

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME THE THIRD

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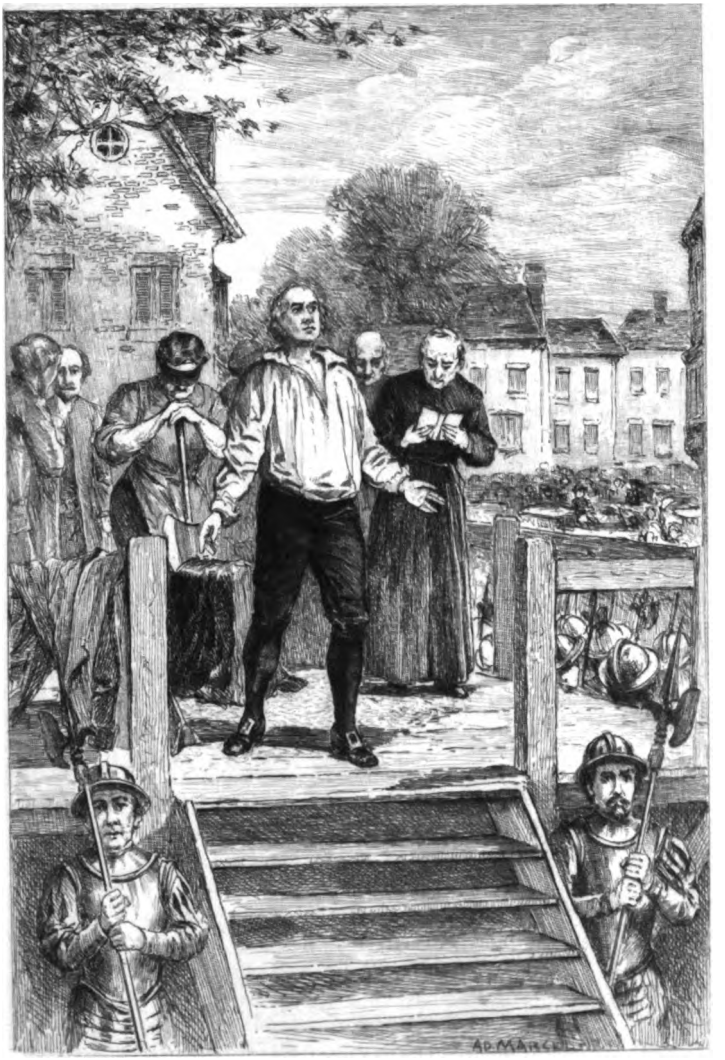

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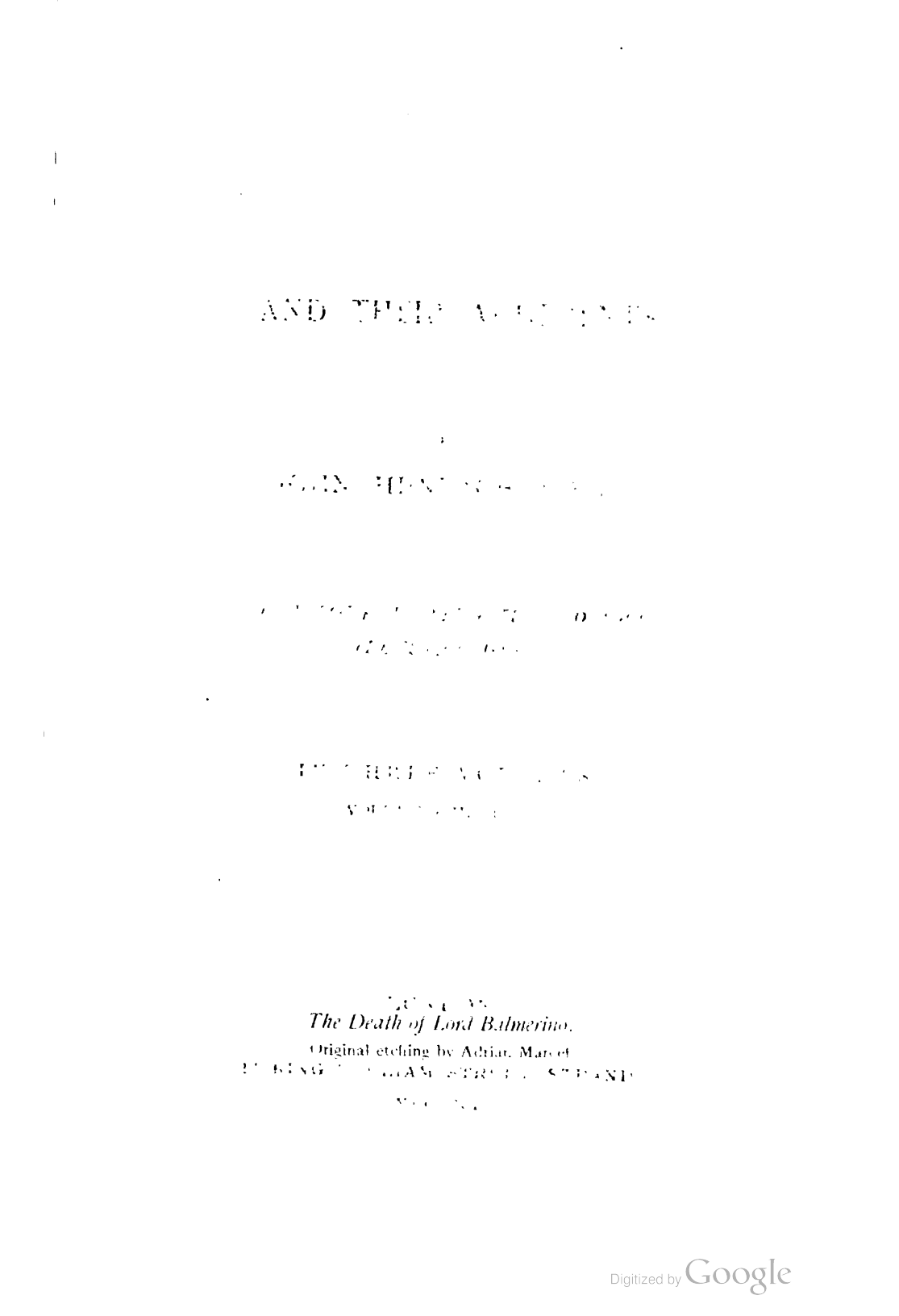

The Death of Lord Balmerino.

Original etching by Adrian Marcel

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MEMOIRS OF
THE PRETENDERS
AND THEIR ADHERENTS

BY

JOHN HENEAGE JESSE

WITH FOUR PORTRAITS AND TWO ILLUSTRATIONS

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME THE THIRD

LONDON
JOHN C. NIMMO
14 KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND
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THE PRETENDERS
AND THEIR ADHERENTS.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY STUART, CARDINAL YORK.

Gray's Early Character of Him — Receives the Cardinal's Hat at the Age of Twenty-three — His Conduct at the Breaking Out of the French Revolution — His Villa Plundered by the French Troops — George the Third's Kindness to the Cardinal — Correspondence between the English Minister and the Cardinal — His Character and Death — Bequeaths the Crown Jewels to the Prince of Wales.

THE life of a churchman, and more particularly of one who gave the preference to virtue and seclusion over the intrigues of courts and the bustle of politics, is likely to present but few incidents of importance or interest; nor does the subject of the present memoir form a very remarkable exception to the general rule.

Henry Benedict Maria Clement — the last of the Stuarts, and one of the most amiable of that unhappy race — was the second and youngest son of James Frederick Edward Stuart, commonly called "the old Pretender," and was born at Rome

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on the 26th of March, 1725. The little that is known of his early history affords sufficient proof that his adoption of the ecclesiastic robe was neither attributable to pusillanimity of character, nor to his being disqualified to struggle with the ills or to discharge with credit the active duties of public life. Gray, the poet, in a letter from Florence, dated July 16, 1740, speaks of the future cardinal, then in his sixteenth year, as dancing incessantly all night long at a ball given by Count Patrizzii, and as having "more spirit" than his elder brother. In 1745, we find him hastening to Dunkirk for the purpose of joining the troops which were assembling in that town to support his brother's operations in Scotland; and moreover, when Charles was a fugitive in the Western Islands, on more than one occasion, he is said to have spoken enthusiastically of the high spirit and activity of his younger brother, adding that he considered him "in all respects as one preferable to himself." Charles, indeed, appears to have been most sincerely and affectionately attached to his younger brother. To their father, the old chevalier, he writes on the 19th of December, 1746: "I shall always love him, and be united with him. Whatever he does to me, I will always tell him face to face what I think for his good, let him take it well or ill. I know him to be a little lively, not much loving to be contradicted; but I also know and am sensible of his love and tenderness for me

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in particular, beyond expression, and of his good heart in general."

In 1747, when only in his twenty-third year, Henry, or, as he was usually styled, the Duke of York, received a cardinal's hat from Benedict the Fourteenth, and was subsequently appointed Bishop of Frescati, and Chancellor of the Church of St. Peter. Cheerful, temperate, and humane, "he sought consolation," we are told, "for the misfortunes of his predecessors in a scrupulous observance of the duties of his religion; apparently secured, in his retirement, from the storms and vicissitudes but too often dependent upon political life." On the death of his brother Charles, in 1788, the only step which he took to assert his right to the British throne was to cause a paper to be drawn up, in which his rightful claims were insisted upon; while at the same time he ordered a medal to be struck, with the inscription "Henricus Nonus, Angliæ Rex," on one side, and the words "*Dei gratia sed non voluntate hominum*," on the other.

The virtues and unambitious character of Cardinal York seemed to promise him an existence happily exempt from the cares and sorrows which affect the majority of the human race. The curse, however, which had hung over his devoted family for so many centuries was destined to persecute the last of that ill-fated line, and, moreover, at a period of life when age and its attendant infirmities rendered it a hard task to struggle with mis-

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fortune and almost positive want. The first blow which he received was on the breaking out of the French Revolution, when he lost his two rich livings in France, the Abbeys of Auchin and St. Amand, and also a large pension which he had hitherto enjoyed from the court of Spain. Nevertheless, in 1796, — in order to aid Pope Pius the Sixth to make up the sum of money demanded of him by Napoleon, — we find him disposing of his family jewels, among which was a ruby valued at £50,000, and esteemed the largest and most perfect in Europe. Though his comforts and resources were thus diminished, he contrived still to reside at his favourite villa near Rome till 1798, when the French revolutionary troops attacked his palace, plundered his valuable collection of manuscripts and antiquities, and compelled him to fly for his life.

Infirm, and almost destitute, the last male descendant of a long line of kings flew in the first instance to Padua, and subsequently to Venice. For a short time he supported himself and his household by the sale of a small quantity of silver plate which he had saved from the wreck of his property; but this fund was soon exhausted, and his condition at length became pitiable in the extreme. On the 14th of September, 1792, Cardinal Borgia writes from Padua to Sir John Coxe Hippisley: "Among the other cardinals who have taken refuge in Padua, is also the Cardinal Duke, and it is greatly afflicting to me to see so great a

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personage, the last descendant of his royal house, reduced to such distressed circumstances, having been barbarously stripped by the French of all his property. If they deprived him not of life also, it was through the mercy of the Almighty, who protected him in his flight, both by sea and land; the miseries of which, nevertheless, greatly injured his health at the advanced age of seventy-five, and produced a very grievous sore in one of his legs. Those who are well informed of this most worthy cardinal's domestic affairs have assured me that, since his flight, — having left behind him his rich and magnificent movables, which were all sacked and plundered, both at Rome and Frescati, — he has been supported by the silver plate he had taken with him, and which he began to dispose of at Messina; and I understand that in order to supply his wants a few months in Venice, he has sold all that remained. This picture," adds the cardinal, "which I present to your friendship, may well excite the compassion of every one who will reflect on the high birth, the elevated dignity, and the advanced age of the personage whose situation I now sketch, in the plain language of truth, without resorting to the aid of eloquence."

On his return to England, Sir John Hippisley lost no time in laying before the ministry of the day a statement of the miserable condition to which the last of an illustrious line was reduced. His generous efforts met with the desired effect,

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for no sooner was George the Third made acquainted with the merits of the case, than he immediately ordered the Earl of Minto, then ambassador at Vienna, to make the cardinal, in as delicate a manner as possible, an offer of a pension of £4,000 a year. Accordingly, on the 9th of February, 1800, we find Lord Minto writing to the aged prelate: "I have received the orders of his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, to remit to your Eminence the sum of £2,000, and to assure your Eminence that, in accepting this mark of the interest and esteem of his Majesty, you will give him sensible pleasure. I am at the same time ordered to acquaint your Eminence with his Majesty's intention to transmit a similar sum in the month of July, if the circumstances remain such that your Eminence continues disposed to accept it. In executing the orders of the king, my master," adds Lord Minto, "your Eminence will do me the justice to believe, that I am deeply sensible of the honour of being the organ of the noble and touching sentiments with which his Majesty has condescended to charge me, and which have been inspired into him on the one hand by his own virtues, and on the other by the eminent qualities of the august person in whom he wishes to repair, as far as possible, the disasters into which the universal scourge of our times has dragged, in a special manner, all who are most worthy of veneration and respect."

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The kindness of George the Third was gratefully acknowledged by the venerable cardinal. To Sir John Hippisley, also, he immediately addressed a letter from "the bosom of the conclave," thanking him most fervently for the share which he had in relieving him from his pressing necessities. The following correspondence, which passed on the occasion, may possibly prove of some interest to the reader.

Cardinal York to Sir John Coxe Hippisley.

(Written in the Conclave.)

VENICE, 26th February, 1800.

YOUR letters fully convince me of the cordial interest you take in all that regards my person, and I am happy to acknowledge that principally I owe to your friendly efforts, and to those of your friends, the succour generously granted to relieve the extreme necessities into which I have been driven by the present dismal circumstances. I cannot sufficiently express how sensible I am to your good heart, and write these few lines, in the first place, to contest to you these my most sincere and grateful sentiments, and then to inform you that, by means of Mr. Oakley,[1] an English

[1] Eldest son of Sir John Oakley, Bart. He was confidentially entrusted by Lord Minto with the delicate commission of communicating to the cardinal the benevolent intentions of George the Third.

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gentleman who arrived here last week, I have received a letter from Lord Minto from Vienna, advising me that he had orders from his court to remit to me at present the sum of £2,000, and that in the month of July next I may again draw, if I desire it, for another equal sum. The letter is written in so extremely genteel and obliging a manner, and with expressions of singular regard and consideration for me, that, I assure you, excited in me most particular and lively sentiments, not only of satisfaction for the delicacy with which the affair has been managed, but also of gratitude for the generosity which has provided for my necessity. I have answered Lord Minto's letter, and gave it on Saturday last to Mr. Oakley, who was to send it by that evening's post to Vienna, and have written in a manner that I hope will be to his lordship's satisfaction.

I own to you that the succour granted to me could not be more timely, for without it, it would have been impossible for me to subsist, on account of the absolutely irreparable loss of all my income: the very funds being also destroyed, so that I would otherwise have been reduced for the short remainder of my life to languish in misery and indigence. I would not lose a moment's time to apprise you of all this, and am very certain that your experimented good heart will find proper means to make known, in an energetical and proper manner, these sentiments of my grateful

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acknowledgments. The signal obligations I am under to Mr. Andrew Stuart for all that he has, with so much cordiality, on this occasion, done to assist me, renders it for me indispensable to desire that you may return him my most sincere thanks, assuring him that his health and welfare interest me extremely, and that I have with great pleasure received from General Heton the genealogical history of our family, which he was so kind as to send me, and hope that he will from that general have already received my thanks for so valuable a proof of his attention for me. In the last place, if you think proper, and an occasion should offer itself, I beg you to make known to the other gentlemen, who also have coöperated, my most grateful acknowledgments, with which, my dear Sir John, with all my heart I embrace you. Your best of friends,

HENRY CARDINAL.

To Sir J. C. Hippisley, Bart., London.

Sir John Coxe Hippisley to Cardinal York.[1]

GROSVENOR STREET, LONDON,

31st March, [1800.]

SIR:—I trust your Eminence will do me the justice to believe that I was not insensible to the honour of receiving so flattering a proof of your

[1] This letter, I believe, has not hitherto appeared in print. The author transcribed it from a MS. inserted in the copy of the Borgia and York Letters, which was presented by Sir John Hippisley to the late Duke of Gloucester.

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gracious consideration as that which I am favoured with, dated the 26th of last month, from the bosom of the conclave.

The merciless scourge of the present age, as my friend Lord Minto has so justly observed, has singled out, as the first objects of its vengeance, everything that is most worthy and best entitled to our veneration and respect. The infidels in religion, but zealots in anarchy, whose malignity pursued the sacred remains of Pius the Great even beyond the grave, assuredly would not exempt from their remorseless persecution the venerable person of the Cardinal of York.

Severe as have been your Eminence's sufferings, they will, nevertheless, find some alleviation in the general sympathy of the British nation. With all distinctions of parties, with all differences of communion, among all conditions of men, but one voice is heard: all breathe one applauding sentiment, all bless the gracious act of the sovereign, in favour of his illustrious but unfortunate relation.

Your Eminence greatly overvalues the humble part which has fallen to my lot, in common with my worthy friend, Mr. Stuart. The cause of suffering humanity never wants supporters in the country with which I know, sir, you feel a generous pride in being connected. The sacred ministers of religion, exiled and driven from their altars, find refuge and security in Britain. The unfortunate princes of the house of Bourbon, too, found

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an asylum under the hospitable roof of the royal ancestors of the Cardinal of York, and when every dignified virtue that can stamp worth on human nature is outraged in the venerable person of the Cardinal of York himself, —

"—— against such cruelties,
With inward consolation recompensed, — "

here also an inviolable sanctuary is unfolded in the kindred bosom of our benevolent sovereign!

It is incumbent on me to attest that, in the frequent communications Mr. Stuart and myself have had with the king's ministers on the subject, they have uniformly expressed their persuasion that his Majesty will think himself happy in repeating the same gracious attention to his royal relation, and in the same proportion, as long as his unfortunate circumstances have a claim to them. I can also, with equal confidence, assure your Eminence, that your reply to my Lord Minto has given as much satisfaction to the king's ministers as it doubtless has excited in the benevolent mind of his Majesty himself.

Mr. Stuart unites with me in every heartfelt wish for your Eminence's health and happiness, equally flattered with myself by your Eminence's condescension and gracious acceptance of our humble attentions. With the most perfect consideration and profound respect, I have the honour to be, etc., J. C. HIPPISLEY.

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Cardinal York to Sir John Coxe Hippisley.

VENICE, 7th May, 1800.

DEAR SIR JOHN:—I have not words to explain the deep impression your very obliging favour of March the 31st made upon me. Your and Mr. Andrew Stuart's most friendly and warm exertions in my behalf; the humane and benevolent conduct of your ministers; your gracious sovereign's noble and spontaneous generosity, the continuance of which, you certify me, depends on my need of it, were all ideas which crowded together on my mind, and filled me with most lively sensations of tenderness and heartfelt gratitude. What return can I make to so many and so signal proofs of disinterested benevolence? Dear Sir John, I confess I am at a loss how to express my feelings. I am sure, however, and very happy that your good heart will make you fully conceive the sentiments of mine, and induce you to make known, in an adequate and convenient manner, to all such as you shall think proper for me, my most sincere acknowledgments.

With pleasure I have presented your compliments to the cardinals and other persons you mention, who all return you their sincere thanks. The canon in particular, now monsignore, being also a domestic prelate of his Holiness, begs you will be persuaded of his constant respect and attachment to you.

My wishes would be completely satisfied, should

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I have the pleasure, as I most earnestly desire, to see you again at Frescati, and be able to assure you by word of mouth of my most sincere esteem and affectionate indelible gratitude.

Your best of friends, HENRY CARDINAL.

Sir John C. Hippisley, Grosvenor Street, London.

Cardinal York bears the character of an amiable and virtuous prince, sincere in his piety, of gentle manners, and possessed of tolerable abilities. His purse was always open to the poor, and in him a British subject in distress was sure to find a compassionate benefactor. His taste for literature and the fine arts is evinced by the valuable library which he collected, and by his fine collection of antiquities and manuscripts, all of which were either plundered in 1798 by the French and Italian revolutionists at Rome, or confiscated by French commissaries, and subsequently scattered over the museums and libraries of Paris.

This venerable and excellent prelate died at Rome in June, 1807, at the age of eighty-two. To George the Fourth, then Prince of Wales, he bequeathed the crown jewels, which one hundred and twenty years before, his grandfather, James the Second, had carried off with him in his flight from England in 1688. Among these valuable relics, the most interesting was the "George," which had been worn by the cardinal's great-grandfather, the unfortunate Charles the First.

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CHAPTER II.

ARTHUR ELPHINSTONE, LORD BALMERINO.

His Early Attachment to the Stuarts — Enters the French Service after the Insurrection of 1715 — Joins the Pretender in 1745 — His Arrest and Committal to the Tower — The Trial Scene as Described by Walpole — His Fortitude and Cheerfulness after the Sentence — His Execution.

THIS gallant and ill-fated nobleman was born in 1688. In his youth he had served with distinction in the armies of Queen Anne, but on the breaking out of the insurrection of 1715 he immediately disclaimed his allegiance to that princess, and flew to array himself beneath the standard of his proscribed, but legitimate sovereign. The circumstances under which he deserted to the Stuarts were rather remarkable. Previous to the battle of Dumblane his loyalty had been much suspected; but his colonel, the Duke of Argyll, lulled the suspicions of the government, by declaring that he would be answerable for his good conduct. He behaved with gallantry during the action, but no sooner had victory decided in favour of the royalists than he galloped of with

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Arthur, Lord Balmerino.

Photo-etching from a rare old print.

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his troop to the opposite party, declaring that he had never feared death before that day, when he had been induced to fight against his conscience.

Having seen the last blow struck in the cause of the Stuarts, Lord Balmerino, then Captain Elphinstone, was fortunate enough to effect his escape to the Continent, where he entered the French service, and remained an exile till 1734, when his father, without his knowledge or consent, succeeded in obtaining a pardon for him from the government. Naturally eager, on the one hand, to return to his country and his friends, from whom he had been banished for so many years, he was yet unwilling to accept the boon without the express permission of his legitimate prince; and, accordingly, he wrote to the old chevalier at Rome, requesting to be directed by him on the occasion. The chevalier immediately sent him back an answer in his own handwriting, not only sanctioning his return to Scotland, but adding, with an amiable consideration, that he had given orders to his banker at Paris to defray the expenses of his journey.

From the period of the suppression of the insurrection of 1715 till the landing of Charles Edward in the Highlands, we know little of the private history of Lord Balmerino. Like the generality of the Scottish landholders of the last century, he seems to have contented himself with the amusements and enjoyments obtained by a

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residence among his own people and on his own estate, and to have been distinguished, even above his neighbours, for his hospitality and convivial habits.

Although thirty years had elapsed since he had last drawn his sword in the cause of the Stuarts, the standard of the young chevalier was no sooner unfurled in the wild valley of Glenfinnan, than the veteran peer flew, with the fiery enthusiasm which had distinguished him in his youth, to aid in a cause which he believed to be the holiest and noblest which could animate the human mind. "I might easily," he says, in his dying speech on the scaffold, "have excused myself from taking arms, on account of my age; but I never could have had peace of conscience if I had stayed at home when that brave prince was exposing himself to all manner of dangers and fatigues both day and night."

The military experience and personal gallantry of Lord Balmerino contributed in a great degree to the early successes obtained by the insurgent army, while he was no less distinguished by the forbearance and humanity which he invariably displayed toward the royalist prisoners who fell into his hands. "All this," he says, in his dying speech, "gives me great pleasure, now that I am looking on the block on which I am ready to lay down my head." Having witnessed the last efforts of the gallant Highlanders on the fatal

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field of Culloden, Lord Balmerino, with many of his brave companions in arms, sought safety in concealment and flight. He was one of the first persons of any rank or importance who fell into the hands of the government; and having been brought by the Grants to Inverness on the 21st of April, 1746, he was shortly afterward sent by sea to London in the same vessel with his friends the Earls of Cromartie and Kilmarnock.

Immediately on their arrival in London, these unfortunate noblemen were committed to the Tower; and bills of indictment having been found by the grand jury of Surrey, they were brought to trial before their peers in Westminster Hall on the 28th of July, 1746. The scene was a most impressive and magnificent one. About eight o'clock in the morning the prisoners were conducted from the Tower to Westminster in three coaches, attended by a strong guard of foot-soldiers. In the first coach was the Earl of Kilmarnock, with General Williamson, the Deputy-Governor of the Tower, and a captain of the guard; in the next was the Earl of Cromartie, attended by a Captain Marshall; and in the third came Lord Balmerino, accompanied by Mr. Fowler, gentleman-gaoler, with the fatal axe, covered, before him. As soon as the peers had assembled in Westminster Hall, proclamation was made for the appearance of the prisoners. They were then brought to the bar, preceded by the gentleman-

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gaoler, who carried the axe with the blunt part turned toward them. The usual compliments passed between the prisoners and the peers, and the indictments were then read with all the customary formalities.

The trial-scene of the insurgent lords is graphically described by Horace Walpole in one of the most interesting of his charming letters. To Sir Horace Mann he writes, on the 1st of August, 1746: "I am this moment come from the conclusion of the greatest and most melancholy scene I ever yet saw. You will easily guess it was the trials of the rebel lords. As it was the most interesting sight, it was the most solemn and fine; a coronation is a puppet-show, and all the splendour of it idle; but this sight at once feasted one's eyes, and engaged all one's passions. It began last Monday; three parts of Westminster Hall were enclosed with galleries, and hung with scarlet; and the whole ceremony was conducted with the most awful solemnity and decency, except in the one point of leaving the prisoners at the bar, amidst the idle curiosity of some crowd, and even with the witnesses who had sworn against them, while the lords adjourned to their own house to consult. No part of the royal family was there, which was a proper regard to the unhappy men, who were become their victims. One hundred and thirty-nine lords were present, and made a noble sight on their benches frequent

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and full! The chancellor[1] was lord high steward; but though a most comely personage, with a fine voice, his behaviour was mean, curiously searching for occasion to bow to the minister that is no peer,[2] and consequently applying to the other ministers, in a manner, for their orders; and not even ready at the ceremonial. To the prisoners he was peevish; and instead of keeping up the humane dignity of the law of England, — whose character is to point out favour to the criminal, — he crossed them, and almost scolded at any offer they made toward defence. I had armed myself with all the resolution I could, with the thought of their crimes and of the danger past, and was assisted by the sight of the Marquis of Lothian,[3] in weepers for his son, who fell at Culloden; but the first appearance of the prisoners shocked me! their behaviour melted me!

"For Lord Balmerino," adds Walpole, "he is the most natural brave old fellow I ever saw; the highest intrepidity, even to indifference. At the bar he behaved like a soldier and a man; in the intervals of form, with carelessness and humour. He pressed extremely to have his wife — his pretty Peggy — with him in the Tower. Lady Cromartie only sees her husband through the grate, not choosing to be shut up with him, as

[1] Lord Hardwicke. [2] Henry Pelham.

[3] William Kerr, third Marquis of Lothian, whose second son, Lord Robert Kerr, had been killed at the battle of Culloden.

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she thinks she can serve him better by her intercession without: she is big with child, and very handsome; so are her daughters. When they were to be brought from the Tower in separate coaches, there was some dispute in which the axe must go. Old Balmerino cried, 'Come, come, put it with me.' At the bar, he plays with his fingers upon the axe, while he talks to the gentleman-gaoler; and one day, somebody coming up to listen, he took the blade and held it like a fan between their faces. During the trial a little boy was near him, but not tall enough to see; he made room for the child, and placed him near himself.

"When the trial began, the two earls pleaded guilty; Balmerino not guilty, saying he could prove his not being at the taking of the Castle of Carlisle, as was laid in the indictment. Then the king's counsel opened; and Sergeant Skinner pronounced the most absurd speech imaginable, and mentioned the Duke of Perth, 'who,' said he, 'I see by the papers is dead.' Then some witnesses were examined, whom afterward the old hero shook cordially by the hand. The lords withdrew to their house, and returning demanded of the judges whether, one point not being proved, though all the rest were, the indictment was false; to which they unanimously answered in the negative. Then the lord high steward asked the peers severally, whether Lord Balmerino was

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guilty. All said, 'Guilty, upon honour,' and then adjourned, the prisoner having begged pardon for giving them so much trouble.[1] While the lords were withdrawn, the Solicitor-General Murray (brother of the Pretender's minister) officiously and insolently went up to Lord Balmerino, and asked him how he could give the lords so much trouble, when his solicitor had informed him that his plea could be of no use to him. Balmerino asked the bystanders who this person was, and being told, he said, 'Oh, Mr. Murray! I am extremely glad to see you; I have been with several of your relations; the good lady, your mother, was of great use to us at Perth.' Are you not charmed with this speech? How just it was! As he went away, he said, 'They call me Jacobite; I am no more a Jacobite than any that tried me; but if the Great Mogul had set up his standard, I should have followed it, for I could not starve.'[2]

"When the peers were going to vote," proceeds Walpole, "Lord Foley withdrew, as too well a

[1] According to ancient custom, the lord high steward put the question to each peer, commencing with the youngest baron,—"My Lord of ——, is Arthur, Lord Balmerino, guilty of high treason?" The nobleman, thus addressed, then laid his hand upon his left breast, answering, "Guilty, upon my honour, my lord."

[2] Walpole places this speech in the mouth of Lord Balmerino, but it seems far more likely that it was uttered by Lord Kilmarnock. See *post* in the memoir of that nobleman, where he is mentioned as giving vent to a similar sentiment, in conversation with the Duke of Argyll.

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wisher; Lord Moray,[1] as nephew of Lord Balmerino, and Lord Stair, as, I believe, uncle to his great-grandfather. Lord Windsor[2] very affectedly said, 'I am sorry I must say, "guilty upon my honour."' Lord Stamford would not answer to the name of Henry, having been christened Harry: what a great way of thinking on such an occasion! I was diverted, too, with old Norsa, the father of my brother's concubine, an old Jew, that kept a tavern. My brother, as auditor of the Exchequer, has a gallery along one whole side of the court. I said, 'I really feel for the prisoners.' Old Issachar replied, 'Feel for them! Pray, if they had succeeded what would have become of all us?' When my Lady Townshend[3] heard her husband vote, she said, 'I always knew my lord was guilty, but I never thought he would own it upon his honour!' Lord Balmerino said that one of his reasons for pleading not guilty was that so many ladies might not be disappointed of their show."

Having been found guilty by the unanimous verdict of their peers, the prisoners were recalled to the bar; and having been informed by the lord steward that, on the day following the next, sen-

[1] James Stewart, ninth Earl of Moray. His mother was Jean Elphinstone, daughter of John, fourth Lord Balmerino.

[2] Herbert Windsor, second Viscount Windsor in Ireland. He died in 1758, when his titles became extinct.

[3] Ethelreda Harrison, Viscountess Townshend, so celebrated for her eccentricities and wit.

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tence would be passed upon them, they were re-conducted to the Tower, with the edge of the axe turned toward them. Accordingly, on the 30th of July, they were again brought to the bar of Westminster Hall to receive judgment; but in consequence of a technical objection raised by Lord Balmerino, the court was once more adjourned to the 1st of August, in order to enable him to obtain the assistance of counsel. On that day, the peers again assembled in Westminster Hall, when the prisoners were called upon, with the usual formalities, to state if they had any objection to raise why sentence of death should not be passed upon them. They all answered in the negative; Lord Balmerino adding that his counsel had satisfied him that there was nothing in the objection which he had raised which could do him service, and that he therefore regretted that he had occasioned so much trouble to their lordships. The lord steward then addressed the prisoners in a pathetic speech, and concluded by pronouncing sentence in the following words: "The judgment of the law is, and this high court doth award, that you, William, Earl of Kilmarnock, George, Earl of Cromartie, and Arthur, Lord Balmerino, and every one of you, return to the prison of the Tower, from whence you came; from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution; when you come there, you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead;

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for you must be cut down alive; then your bowels must be taken out, and burnt before your faces; then your heads must be severed from your bodies, and your bodies must be divided each into four quarters; and these must be at the king's disposal. And God Almighty be merciful to your souls!" Sentence having been passed, the prisoners were removed from the bar, when the lord high steward, standing up uncovered, broke his staff, and declared the commission to be dissolved.

Throughout his trial, and indeed up to the moment when the fatal axe subsequently fell upon him, Lord Balmerino displayed the greatest fortitude and cheerfulness; apparently despising death itself as much as he despised those who inflicted it. "The first day," writes Gray, the poet, "while the peers were adjourned to consider of his plea, Lord Balmerino diverted himself with the axe that stood by him, played with the tassels, and tried the edge with his finger." On his return to the Tower, after sentence had been passed on him, he stopped the coach, we are told, at Charing Cross, to buy honey-blobs, as the Scotch call gooseberries; and again, Horace Walpole writes to George Montagu a few days afterward: "Old Balmerino keeps up his spirits in the same pitch of gaiety. In the cell at Westminster, he showed Lord Kilmarnock how he must lay his head; bid him not wince, lest the stroke should cut his skull or his shoulders,

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and advised him to bite his lips. As they were to return, he begged they might have another bottle together, as they should never meet any more till —, and then pointed to his neck. At getting into the coach, he said to the gaoler, 'Take care, or you will break my shins with this damned axe.'"

On the 16th of August, Walpole writes to the same correspondent: "I have been this morning at the Tower, and passed under the new heads at Temple Bar, where people make a trade of letting out spying-glasses at a halfpenny a look. Old Lovat arrived last night. I saw Murray, Lord Derwentwater, Lord Traquair, Lord Cromartie and his son, and the Lord Provost, at their respective windows. The other two wretched lords are in dismal towers, and they have stopped up one of old Balmerino's windows, because he talked to the populace; and now he has only one, which looks directly upon all the scaffolding. They brought in the death-warrant at his dinner. His wife fainted. He said, 'Lieutenant, with your d——d warrant you have spoiled my lady's stomach.' He has written a sensible letter to the duke to beg his intercession, and the duke has given it to the king."

On learning that Lord Lovat had fallen into the hands of the government, Lord Balmerino expressed a generous concern that they had not been captured at the same time, — "For then," he said,

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"we might have been sacrificed, and those other two brave men might have escaped." However, when he subsequently learned that Lords Kilmarnock and Cromartie had petitioned for mercy, he observed, with a sneer, that "as they had such great interest at court, they might as well have squeezed his name in with their own." About a week after he had received sentence of death, he received a visit from a gentleman, who made many apologies for intruding upon the few hours which his lordship had to live. "Oh, sir," he said, "it is no intrusion at all. I have done nothing to make my conscience uneasy. I shall die with a true heart, and undaunted; for I think no man fit to live who is not fit to die; nor am I in any way concerned at what I have done."

The 18th of August being appointed for the execution of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, about six o'clock in the morning of that day, a troop of the life-guards, another of the horse grenadier guards, and about a thousand foot-guards, marched from the parade, opposite the Horse Guards in St. James's Park, through the city to Tower Hill. On arriving there a large body were posted around the scaffold, while the remainder were drawn up in two lines, extending from the lower gate of the Tower to the scaffold, leaving a sufficient space between them for the procession to pass through.

About eight o'clock, the sheriffs of London, ac-

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companied by their under-sheriffs and their officers, — the latter consisting of six sergeants-at-mace, six yeomen, and the executioner, — assembled at the Mitre Tavern, in Fenchurch Street, where they breakfasted; and from thence proceeded to the house which they had hired for the reception of the prisoners on Tower Hill, near Catherine Court, opposite to which, at the distance of about thirty yards, the scaffold had been erected. At ten o'clock the block, which was covered with black cloth, was fixed on the scaffold; and, at the same time, the latter was strewed thickly with sawdust for the purpose of soaking the gore. The coffins of the respective lords were then brought on the fatal stage. They were covered with black cloth; that of Lord Kilmarnock having a plate on it surmounted with an earl's coronet, with the words underneath, "*Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus* 18° *Augusti*, 1746, *Ætat. suæ* 42." The plate on the coffin of Lord Balmerino bore the coronet of a baron, with the inscription, "*Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino, decollatus* 18° *Augusti*, 1746, *Ætat. suæ* 58." The coffins of both were ornamented with gilt nails, and also with six handles, over each of which was affixed the coronet appertaining to their respective ranks.

At a quarter after ten, the sheriffs proceeded in procession to the outward gate of the Tower, and, according to ancient usage, knocked at the gate. The warder then asked from within, "Who's there?"

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"The sheriffs of London and Middlesex," was the reply. The warder again inquired, "What do you want?" when the officer answered, "The bodies of William, Earl of Kilmarnock, and Arthur, Lord Balmerino;" on this the warder said, "I will go and inform the lieutenant of the Tower." Ten minutes then elapsed before the arrival of the prisoners, who made their appearance on foot, guarded by several of the warders; Lord Kilmarnock being attended by the lieutenant of the Tower, and Lord Balmerino by Major White. Before quitting the Tower, the ancient ceremony was performed of the sheriffs delivering to the lieutenant the proper receipts for the bodies of the prisoners.

The same flight of stairs in the Tower led to the apartments of both of these unfortunate noblemen, and in descending them, in order to proceed to the place of their execution, they encountered each other. On reaching the foot of the first flight of stairs, Lord Balmerino affectionately embraced his unfortunate friend. "My lord," he said, "I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition." Lord Balmerino was dressed in a blue coat turned up with red, the regimentals in which he had so often fought for the gallant cause in which he was about to die. Previous to quitting the Tower, he called for a bumper of wine, and drank his last toast to the health of King James.

During the ceremony of delivering over the prisoners to the sheriffs, the deputy lieutenant

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cried, according to ancient custom, "God bless King George!" to which Lord Kilmarnock assented by a bow, but Lord Balmerino, true to his principles to the last, responded, "God bless King James!" The procession then moved forward with great solemnity, one of the sheriffs walking with Lord Kilmarnock, and the other with Lord Balmerino; their two hearses and a mourning-coach bringing up the rear. Lord Kilmarnock was attended by two Presbyterian clergymen, and Lord Balmerino by the chaplain of the Tower and another minister of the Established Church. As the stout old peer moved along, he heard a person in the crowd inquire, with anxious curiosity, "Which is Lord Balmerino?" With good-natured politeness, he turned half around, and said, "I am Balmerino." "As he walked from his prison to execution," says Horace Walpole, "seeing every window and top of house filled with spectators, he cried out, 'Look, look, how they are all piled up like rotten oranges!'"

The scene which presented itself to the insurgent lords, on their approaching the fatal stage, was such as to strike awe into any heart but that of the undaunted Balmerino. A large area was formed by the soldiers around the scaffold, which was covered with black, as were also the rails of the passage which led from it to the house which had been prepared for the reception of the insurgent lords, and the rooms in which they were

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allowed to offer up their last devotions, and to take leave of their friends.

Previous to retiring to the several apartments which had been provided for their reception, the two unfortunate noblemen took leave of each other; Lord Balmerino adding affectionately at parting, "My lord, I wish I could suffer for both." Lord Kilmarnock was the first who suffered. The block was then new-covered for the second slaughter; the scaffold was strewed with fresh sawdust; the executioner changed his bloody clothes, and a new axe was provided. These arrangements having been made, the under-sheriff proceeded to the apartment of Lord Balmerino. The nature of the errand on which he came being sufficiently evident to Lord Balmerino, he anticipated him by observing that he supposed Lord Kilmarnock was now no more, and inquired how the executioner had performed his duty. Being informed that it had been expeditiously done, he expressed his satisfaction, and then, turning to his friends, "Gentlemen," he said, "I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life." Before parting from them, he partook twice of some wine, with a little bread, desiring the bystanders to drink him a safe passport to heaven. He then took leave of them, with a cheerfulness so touching from its unaffectedness, that it is said to have drawn tears from every eye but his own.

"Balmerino," says Walpole, "certainly died with

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the intrepidity of a hero, but with the insensibility of one, too." This idea, or rather the possibility, that he might be accused of displaying an unseemly and affected boldness in his last moments, seems to have occurred to the veteran hero himself. "As he departed to the scaffold," says Ford, who was the chronicler of his last moments, "he once more turned to his friends and took his last farewell, and looking on the crowd said, 'Perhaps some may think my behaviour too bold; but remember, sir,' said he to a gentleman who stood near him, 'that I now declare it is the effect of confidence in God, and a good conscience, and I should dissemble if I showed any signs of fear.'"

The appearance of Lord Balmerino on the scaffold, which he is said to have trodden with the air of a general, — his intrepid bearing, — his very uniform, the blue turned up with red, the same which he had worn on the fatal field of Culloden, — excited the breathless attention and admiration of the populace. On mounting the scaffold, he walked around it several times, occasionally bowing to the people, and twice over read the inscription on his coffin, declaring it to be correct. He then examined the block, which he called his "pillow of rest," and lying down for a moment to try it, "If I had a thousand lives," he said, "I would lay them all down here in the same cause." On rising up, he expressed great indignation at the manner

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in which he had been treated by General Williamson, the lieutenant of the Tower, adding, that if he had not taken the sacrament the day before, he would have knocked him down for his ill-usage of him.[1]

He then put on his spectacles, and taking a paper from his pocket, read the contents of it with an audible voice to the few persons who were within hearing. In this document, he spoke of William the Third as a "vile, unnatural usurper;" he expressed deep regret at his having been induced to serve in his youth in the armies of Queen

[1] In the paper which he read on the scaffold, and which he delivered to the sheriffs just before his execution, he exclaims strongly against the cowardly treatment which he met with from the lieutenant of the Tower. "Ever since my confinement in the Tower," he says, "when Major White or Mr. Fowler did me the honour of a visit, their behaviour was always so kind and obliging to me, that I cannot find words to express it. But I am sorry I cannot say the same thing of General Williamson. He has treated me barbarously, but not quite so ill as he did the Bishop of Rochester [Atterbury], and had it not been for a worthy clergyman's advice, I should have prayed for him in the words of David, Psalm cix., from the 6th to the 16th verse. I forgive him, and all my enemies." The verses alluded to by Lord Balmerino are as follows:

6. Set thou a wicked man over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand.

7. When he shall be judged, let him be condemned: and let his prayer become sin.

8. Let his days be few; and let another take his office.

9. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow.

10. Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg; let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places.

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Anne; he spoke with enthusiasm of Prince Charles, as "so sweet a prince, that flesh and blood could not help following him;" and then solemnly denied the infamous report spread by the partisans of the government, that, previous to the battle of Culloden, Charles had issued an order that no quarter should be given to the enemy; adding, that it was his firm conviction that it was a mere malicious report industriously spread to excuse those frightful murders which were afterward perpetrated in cold blood. Finally, he expressed his forgiveness of all his enemies, and concluded by a short prayer, in which he solemnly invoked the blessings of Heaven on all the members of the exiled family, and commended to the fatherly goodness of the Supreme Being all the faithful adherents of the cause for which he was about to lay down his life upon the block.

He then called for the executioner, who re-

11. Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let the stranger spoil his labour.

12. Let there be none to extend mercy unto him; neither let there be any to favour his fatherless children.

13. Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out.

14. Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with the Lord, and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out.

15. Let them be before the Lord continually, that he may cut off the memory of them from the earth.

16. Because that he remembered not to show mercy, but persecuted the poor and needy man, that he might even slay the broken in heart.

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quested his forgiveness. "Friend," he said, "you have no need to ask for forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable." He then took the axe and felt it, inquiring of the executioner how many blows he had given Lord Kilmarnock, and gave him three guineas. "Friend," he said, "I never was rich; this is all the money I now have; I wish it was more, and I am sorry I can add nothing to it but my coat and waistcoat." These he took off, together with his neckcloth, and laid them on his coffin for the executioner. He then put on a flannel waistcoat, and taking a tartan cap from his pocket, put it on his head, exclaiming, playfully, that "he died a Scotchman."

Before laying his head on the block, he went to the side of the scaffold, and, calling for the warder, gave him some money, and inquired which was his hearse. Being pointed out to him, he desired that it might draw nearer. He then tucked down the collar of his shirt and flannel waistcoat, and good-humouredly exhorting the executioner to perform his work expeditiously, told him that when he dropped his arms he was to consider it as the signal for him to strike the blow. Immediately he knelt down, without discovering the least symptom of fear, and, having fitted his neck to the block, exclaimed, "God preserve my friends, forgive my enemies, restore the King, and have mercy upon my soul." He then, it is said, gave the sign

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by throwing up his arm, "as if he were giving the signal for battle."

The intrepidity displayed by this unfortunate nobleman, as well as the suddenness with which he gave the signal, — contrasting strongly with the natural hesitation which had been betrayed by Lord Kilmarnock, — seems to have completely taken the executioner by surprise. The blow which he struck fell with great force between the shoulders, depriving his victim, it is to be hoped, of sensation; though, according to contemporary accounts, the contrary was the case, for he is said to have made an effort to turn his head toward the executioner; the under jaw falling and returning very quickly, as if the sufferer were convulsed with mingled sensations of anger and pain. The second blow fell directly on the neck, causing the body to fall away from the block; and the third completed the sanguinary work. The head was received in a piece of red baize, which, together with the body, was deposited in the coffin prepared to receive them. According to Lord Balmerino's particular request, the coffin was placed over that of the Marquis of Tullibardine,[1] in the chapel of the Tower; Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Tullibardine occupying the same grave.

Thus, on the 18th of August, 1746, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, died the dauntless, the devoted, the noble-minded Balmerino.

[1] Lord Tullibardine had died in the Tower on the 9th of June.

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"Pitied by gentle minds Kilmarnock died,
The brave, Balmerino, were on thy side."

Lord Balmerino married Miss Margaret Chalmers, whom he was in the habit of styling his "pretty Peggy." During the time that he was in the Tower, she resided in lodgings in East Smithfield, but constantly visited and remained with him in his confinement.

The day before his execution, Lord Balmerino wrote to the old chevalier, setting forth his services, and stating that he was about to die "with great satisfaction and peace of mind" in the best of causes; all that he entreated, he said, was that the chevalier would provide for his widow, "so that she should not want bread; which otherwise," he added, "she must do, his brother having left more debt on the estate than it was worth, and he himself having nothing in the world to give her." The chevalier, shortly afterward, sent her the sum of sixty pounds; and it is said that, at the dying request of the unfortunate nobleman, George the Second settled a pension on her of fifty pounds a year. The latter fact, however, may reasonably be doubted.

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CHAPTER III.

WILLIAM BOYD, EARL OF KILMARNOCK.

Attachment of Lord Kilmarnock's Family to the House of Brunswick — His Motives for Joining the Pretender — Taken Prisoner at Culloden — His Trial — Correspondence of the Family — His Execution.

WILLIAM, Earl of Kilmarnock, was born in 1705, and in 1725 married Lady Anne Livingstone, daughter and heiress of James, fifth Earl of Linlithgow and fourth Earl of Callendar, and heiress to her aunt, Mary, Countess of Errol, in her own right.

The family of Lord Kilmarnock had long been distinguished for their attachment to the house of Brunswick and to the Whig principles which had raised the reigning family to the throne. In the rebellion of 1715, the father of the unfortunate lord had enrolled a thousand men in support of the government; and even Lord Kilmarnock himself, though a mere child, is stated to have appeared in arms on the occasion. In addition to these circumstances, it may be mentioned that he had long enjoyed a pension from George the Second's government, till he was deprived of it by

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Lord Wilmington, probably on account of his loyalty having become suspected.

The motives which induced Lord Kilmarnock to desert the principles which had been instilled into him in his cradle, for the fatal cause of the Stuarts, have been accounted for in different ways. According to Horace Walpole, he was persuaded against his better judgment by the old Countess of Errol, who threatened to disinherit him unless he complied with her wishes; while Sir Walter Scott and others attribute it to the influence possessed over him by his countess, who was known to be enthusiastically devoted to the house of Stuart. It is but due, however, to Lady Kilmarnock to observe that her unfortunate lord, almost with his latest breath, not only entirely exculpated her from having any share in urging him to take the step he did, but even endeavoured to dissuade him from joining the insurgents.

The real fact seems to have been — and it is proved by the authority of Lord Kilmarnock himself — that a difficulty in procuring even the necessaries of life, and a desire to retrieve a fortune which he had ruined by a career of extravagance and self-indulgence, determined him to set his life upon a cast, and to risk everything upon the hazard of the die. "Lord Kilmarnock," writes Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, "is a Presbyterian, with four earldoms in him,[1] but so poor since Lord

[1] Kilmarnock, Errol, Linlithgow, and Callendar.

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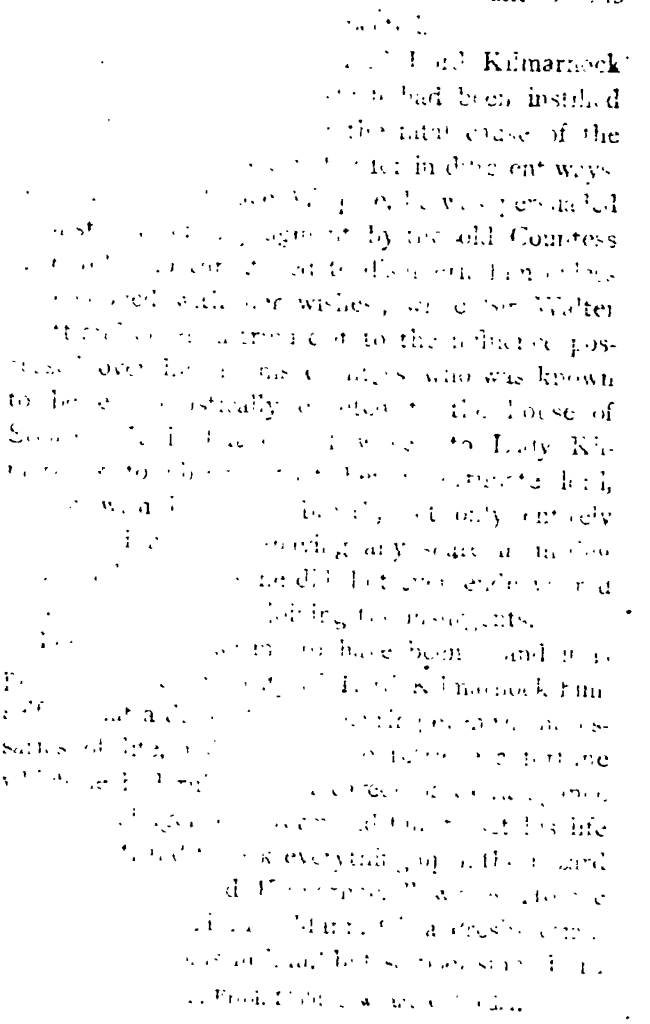

The Earl of Kilmarnock.

Photo-etching from the engraving by J. Basire.

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Wilmington stopped a pension that my father had given him, that he often wanted a dinner." Again, Walpole writes to George Montagu a few days afterward, "I am assured that the old Countess of Errol made Lord Kilmarnock go into the rebellion on pain of disinheriting him. I don't know whether I told you that the man at the tennis court protests that he has known him dine with the man that sells pamphlets at Storey's Gate; 'and,' says he, 'he would often have been glad if I would have taken him home to dinner.' He was certainly so poor that in one of his wife's intercepted letters she tells him she has plagued their steward for a fortnight for money, and can get but three shillings. Can one help pitying such distress?"

But the evidence given by the ill-fated nobleman himself, in regard to the pitiable state of distress to which he was reduced, is even more curious. After he had fallen into the hands of the government, the Duke of Argyll telling him how sorry he was to see him in such a condition, "My lord," he said, "for the two kings and their rights I cared not a farthing which prevailed, but I was starving, and, by G—d, if Mahomet had set up his standard in the Highlands I had been a good Mussulman for bread, and stuck close to the party; for I must eat." Again, when Forster, the Presbyterian clergyman who attended him in his last moments, inquired of him his motives for

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joining the insurgents, "The true root of all," he said, "was his careless and dissolute life, by which he had reduced himself to great and perplexing difficulties; that the exigency of his affairs was in particular very pressing at the time of the rebellion, and that, besides the general hope he had of mending his fortune by the success of it, he was also tempted by another prospect of retrieving his circumstances if he followed the Pretender's standard." In fact, he added, "his rebellion was a kind of desperate scheme, proceeding originally from his vices, to extricate himself from the distress of his circumstances."

The unexpected success obtained by the Jacobites at Preston Pans, and the hope that it would be followed by fresh victories, seems to have determined the wavering intentions of Lord Kilmarnock in joining the standard of Charles. During the remainder of the insurrection, he more than once displayed considerable gallantry at the head of his troop of grenadier guards. He was present at the fatal battle of Culloden, and appears to have been one of the first persons of distinction who fell into the hands of the government. In the speech which he made at his trial in Westminster Hall, he claimed the credit of having voluntarily surrendered himself. "I had not been long with them," he said, "before I saw my error, and reflected with horror on the guilt of swerving from my allegiance to the best of

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sovereigns; the dishonour which it reflected upon myself; and the fatal ruin which it necessarily brought upon my family. I then determined to leave them, and submit to his Majesty's clemency, as soon as I should have an opportunity. For this I separated myself from my corps at the battle of Culloden, and stayed to surrender myself a prisoner." This statement Lord Kilmarnock, before his death, declared, in conversation with Mr. Forster, to be a false one. The fact was, that in the hurry and confusion of the flight after the battle, half blinded by smoke and snow, he made his way toward a party of the royal dragoons, which he mistook for Fitzjames's horse, and was immediately captured. On being brought within the British lines, an affecting incident occurred. As he was led along by his captors, he passed at the head of a regiment of infantry, in which his eldest son, Lord Boyd, then a very young man, held an ensign's commission. "The earl," says Chambers, "had lost his hat in the strife, and his long hair was flying in disorder around his head and over his face. The soldiers stood mute in their lines beholding the unfortunate nobleman. Among the rest stood Lord Boyd, compelled by his situation to witness, without the power of alleviating, the humiliation of his father. When the earl came past the place where his son stood, the youth, unable to bear any longer that his father's head should be ex-

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posed to the storm, stepped out of the ranks, without respect to discipline, and, taking off his own hat, placed it over his father's disordered and wind-beaten locks. He then returned to his place, without having uttered a word."

On the 23d of June, 1746, a true bill for high treason was found against Lord Kilmarnock by the grand jury of Surrey, and on the 28th of July he was brought up for trial before his peers in Westminster Hall. On being placed at the bar, he pleaded guilty to the indictment, and requested that he might be recommended to his Majesty for mercy. Horace Walpole, who was present at the trial, observes, "Lord Kilmarnock and Lord Cromartie are both past forty, but look younger. Lord Kilmarnock is tall and slender, with an extreme fine person; his behaviour a most just mixture between dignity and submission; if in anything to be reprehended, a little affected, and his hair too exactly dressed for a man in his situation; but when I say this, it is not to find fault with him, but to show how little fault there was to be found." On the 30th, he was brought up to receive sentence, when, according to custom, he was asked by the lord high steward, "if he had anything to offer why judgment of death should not be passed against him." His striking figure, his handsome countenance, his engaging manner, and the melodious tone of voice with which he addressed the assembled peers, in

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that last appeal which he could ever make to an earthly tribunal, excited the deepest commiseration in the breasts of the vast crowd that listened to him. Even the critical and prejudiced Walpole admits that "he read a very fine speech with a very fine voice." He expressed the deepest contrition for his past conduct; he implored the peers to intercede with the king in his behalf; he asserted that he had deeply lamented his defalcation from the paths of loyalty, even while he was serving in the rebel ranks, and that he had seized the earliest opportunity of retrieving his error; and he also insisted that, by the humanity which he had on all occasions displayed toward the royalist prisoners, he had greatly lessened the horrors of war. "But, my lords," he concluded, "if all I have offered is not a sufficient motive to your lordships to induce you to employ your interest with his Majesty for his royal clemency in my behalf, I shall lay down my life with the utmost resignation, and my last moments shall be employed in fervent prayers for the preservation of the illustrious house of Hanover, and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain."

Lord Kilmarnock has been accused of endeavouring to preserve existence at too high a price. He has been charged with servility in his address to his peers, but more particularly in the appeals for mercy which he subsequently made, not only to the king, but to the Prince of Wales

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and the Duke of Cumberland. It should be remembered, however, that the position of this unfortunate nobleman was widely different from that of his friend, Lord Balmerino. The latter, in addition to the constitutional fearlessness which distinguished his character, was supported by the pleasing conviction that he had committed no act but what his conscience and his duty positively demanded of him; he acknowledged no such sovereign as George the Second; he admitted no rights but those of the unhappy Stuarts; he looked back with an enviable pride and satisfaction to the part which he had taken in the recent struggles, and, imagining himself to be a martyr in a gallant and holy cause, his last prayer was breathed for his exiled sovereign, and he demeaned himself, both before the assembled lords in Westminster Hall, and on the fatal scaffold, rather with the air of a general at the head of an army than like a culprit who was about to pay the penalty of his crimes.

In the case of the ill-fated Kilmarnock, however, the circumstances were widely different. Deprived of the consolatory reflection that he had been influenced in his rebellious acts by a sense of duty, he was, according to his own dying confession, an apostate to his principles and his God; a traitor to the prince whom his heart acknowledged to be his rightful sovereign, as well as to the laws and religion which he inwardly

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believed to be best adapted to promote the welfare of his fellow subjects. Under these circumstances, — attached moreover to existence, in the prime of life, and in the full vigour of mind and body, — can we wonder that the unfortunate lord should have reflected with awe and terror on his approaching dissolution? or was it to be expected that one who had rushed from scenes of pleasure and dissipation to the battle-field, and who had been hurried still more rapidly from the battle-field to a dungeon, and to his own melancholy reflections, should have anticipated without shuddering a public death on the scaffold, nor have sought to save his life by expressing those penitent feelings which he doubtless really felt, and which he fondly hoped would be accepted as a claim for mercy from the throne, and as an extenuation of his unhappy offence?

At an early period of the proceedings against the insurgent lords, Lord Balmerino is said to have expressed a fear that Lord Kilmarnock would betray pusillanimity in his last moments; and only forty-eight hours before his execution, Horace Walpole remarks, "Lord Kilmarnock, who has hitherto kept up his spirits, grows extremely terrified." This latter statement, however, was not the fact. We learn from the very interesting narrative of the Rev. Mr. Forster, the Presbyterian clergyman who was called in at Lord Kilmarnock's own desire to commune with him in

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his last moments, that no sooner was the conviction impressed upon him that he had no mercy to expect in this world, than he demeaned himself with a piety, a resignation, and tranquillity, which did him the highest credit.

On the Monday-week before his death, the order for Lord Kilmarnock's execution was received by General Williamson, the lieutenant of the Tower, and shortly afterward the fact was communicated to him by Mr. Forster, in the gentlest terms and most considerate manner. "Lord Kilmarnock," says that gentleman, "received the news with the outward behaviour of a man who knew and felt the importance of the scene of death, but without any marks of disorder, — without any unbecoming anxiousness or terror." "During the time," he said, "that he had been most unreflecting and licentious in his conduct, he had never been a libertine in principle; but had always believed in the great truths of Christianity, and had never been infected by the fashionable skepticism of the times. It was only the consequences of death," he said, "which gave him any concern; for as to death itself he looked upon it as a trifle; and could not but imagine that the stroke which must separate his soul from his body was of itself no more painful than the drawing of a tooth, or the effect of the first shock of a cold bath on a weak and timid constitution."

Two days before his death, Lord Kilmarnock

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was waited upon by the lieutenant of the Tower, who explained to him the preparations which had been made for his execution, and the part which he would be called upon to act. At the same time (probably with the humane purpose of preparing the mind of the prisoner, lest he might be unnerved by the sight of the terrible spectacle which would suddenly be presented to him on his quitting the Tower), the lieutenant entered into a particular detail of the circumstances of the approaching tragedy, and minutely described the solemn and bloody paraphernalia. At ten o'clock in the morning, he said, the sheriffs would come to demand his body, and that of Lord Balmerino, which would be delivered to them at the gate of the Tower; from thence, if his lordship thought proper, he might walk to the house which had been prepared on Tower Hill for his reception, the rooms of which had been hung with black to give them a more solemn and decent appearance; that here his lordship might repose and prepare himself in the apartment fitted up for him, as long as he might think proper, only remembering that it must not be longer than one o'clock, as the warrant for the execution expired at that hour; that, in consequence of a complaint made by Lord Kenmure, who suffered in 1716, that the block was too low, orders had been given for its being raised higher by two feet; and, finally, the lieutenant stated, that in order that the block might

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be more firmly fixed, props would be placed directly under it, that the certainty and decency of the execution might not be obstructed by any concussion or sudden jerk of the body.

To these dismal details Lord Kilmarnock, we are told, listened without any visible emotion, and calmly expressed his satisfaction at the arrangements which had been made. When the lieutenant, however, happened to mention that the hearse would be drawn up near the scaffold, in order, when the head was struck off, that the coffin might be the sooner taken out and brought on the fatal stage, Lord Kilmarnock expressed a wish that the coffin might at once be placed on the scaffold, as, by this means, his body would be the sooner removed from the gaze of the multitude. Being further informed that the executioner was "a very good sort of man." "General," he said, "this is one of the worst circumstances you could have mentioned. For such work as this, I don't quite like your good sort of men; for one of that character, I apprehend, must be a tender-hearted and compassionate man, and a rougher and less sensible temper might perhaps be fitter for the purpose." At the conclusion of his interview with the lieutenant, Lord Kilmarnock expressed a wish that, at the moment of execution, four persons might stand prepared with a red cloth to receive his head, in order that — as he had been informed was the case in former execu-

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tions — it might not roll about the scaffold, and be thus mangled and disfigured. "I could not perceive," says Forster, who listened to the foregoing conversation, "but that Lord Kilmarnock talked of all these particulars with ease and freedom; although the relation of them, I remember, made me tremble, chiefly because I feared they would produce in him some perturbation and distress of mind." It was highly to the credit of Lord Kilmarnock that, when it became generally known that the life of one only of the insurgent lords was to be saved, and a doubt arose whether it should be Lord Cromartie or himself, he generously desired that the preference might be given to his friend.

By the kindness of the Earl of Errol, the great-great-grandson of Lord Kilmarnock, I am enabled to lay before the reader the following interesting letters connected with the fate of his unfortunate ancestor:

The Earl of Kilmarnock to the Duke of Hamilton.

TOWER, Saturday, August 9, 1746.

MY LORD DUKE: — Mr. Ross showed me this morning a letter from Lord Boyd,[1] in which he tells him that he has applied to Lord Albemarle

[1] James, Lord Boyd, was deprived of the Earldom of Kilmarnock by the attainder of his father, but succeeded, on the death of his great-aunt in 1758, as fourteenth Earl of Errol. He was

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for leave to come up and see me before I suffered, but that it was refused him. I approve much of your Grace's kind proposition of mentioning this refusal in the closet, and requesting that leave may still be granted, which will of consequence produce a reprieve, and what may be the good effects of that nobody knows.

As this may prove the last and only effort to be made, and as I am fully satisfied of the Duke of Argyll's kind endeavours, I must beg your Grace would, in addition to all your former goodness, take the trouble of going out and consulting with him to-morrow at Whitten. Your Grace will then have an opportunity of discovering his real friendship for me, by the answer he will make to the request which I humbly think your Grace may make, of his attending and backing you in this, I may say the last, application. I need not mention any arguments to your Grace for enforcing the utility and necessity of seeing my son before I leave this world, nor need I mention the sorrow he feels from the refusal. They will all occur to your Grace, and you can put them in their proper light, and enforce them, and represent the inconvenience that will ensue in his private affairs from

distinguished, like his unfortunate parent, for the beauty of his person and the charm of his manners. Doctor Johnson likened him to the Sarpedon of the Iliad, and Horace Walpole remarks of him that he was "the noblest figure he ever saw." He died on the 3d of July, 1778, at the age of fifty-two.

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my not seeing him, as I only can inform him thoroughly of them.

The freedom I take in making this proposal to your Grace is a strong evidence of the great sense I have of the friendship you have shown me, and that I shall always remain, for what time I have to live, my Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most obliged,
And most obedient humble servant,
WILLIAM BOYD.[1]

The Duke of Hamilton to the Countess of Yarmouth.[2]

Duke of Hamilton's compliments to the Countess of Yarmouth. He is very sorry he could not do himself the honour of waiting upon her ladyship this morning, as he intended. His Grace is only this moment come to town, being kept upon the road by an overturn. His Grace begs to have the honour of waiting upon her ladyship at any hour most convenient.

[1] Lord Kilmarnock thus signs himself, in consequence of the act of attainder having deprived him of his family honours.

[2] Amelia Sophia de Walmoden, the well-known mistress of George the Second. This note is principally curious as having been written within a split playing-card, the *eight* of diamonds; but whether it was intended to have any reference to the celebrated *nine* of diamonds, called "the curse of Scotland," — on which it is said the order was written for the battle of Culloden, — there is no means of knowing.

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The Countess of Yarmouth to the Duke of Hamilton.

My Lady Yarmouth fait des compliments au Duc d'Hamilton, et qu'elle serait toujours bien aise d'avoir l'honneur de le voir chez elle; mais qu'elle peut l'assurer qu'elle ne peut lui être d'aucune utilité sur le sujet qui lui procure cet honneur.

The Earl of Kilmarnock to Lord Boyd.

(Written the Day before His Execution.)

TOWER OF LONDON, August 17, 1746.

DEAR BOYD: —You may easily believe it gave me a great deal of uneasiness that you did not get leave to come up here, and that I could not have the pleasure of taking a long and last farewell of you. Besides the pleasure of seeing you, and giving you the blessing of a dying father, I wanted to have talked to you about your affairs more than I have strength or spirits to write. I shall therefore recommend you to George Menzies in Falkirk, and Rober Paterson in Kilmarnock, as your advisers in them, and to a state of affairs I sent to my wife, of which you will get a copy, which I recommend to you in the same manner as to her. I desire you will consult with her in all your affairs. I need hardly recommend it to you, as I know your good nature and regard for her, to do all you can to comfort her in the grief and affliction I am sure she must

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be in when she has the accounts of my death. She will need your assistance, and I pray you will give it her.

I beg leave to say two or three things to you as my last advice. Seek God in your youth and when you are old he will not depart from you. Be at pains to acquire good habits now that they may grow up and become strong in you. Love mankind, and do justice to all men. Do good to as many as you can, and neither shut your ears nor your purse to those in distress whom it is in your power to relieve. Believe me, you will find more pleasure in one beneficent action, and in your cool moments you will be more happy with the reflection of having made any one person so, who, but by your assistance, would have been miserable, than in the enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense (which pall in the using), and of all the pomp and gaudy show of the world. Live within your circumstances, by which means you will have it in your power to do good to others, and create an independence in yourself, — the surest way to rise in the world.

Above all things, continue in your loyalty to his present Majesty, and the succession to the crown as by law established. Look on that as the basis of the civil and religious liberty and property of every individual in the nation. Prefer the public interest to your own, whenever they interfere. Love your family and your children, when you

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have any; but never let your regard for them drive you on the rock I split on, when on that account I departed from my principles, and brought the guilt of rebellion and public and particular desolation on my head, for which I am now under the sentence justly due to my crime. Use all your interest to get your brother pardoned,[1] and brought home as soon as possible, that his circumstances, and the bad influence of those he is among, may not induce him to accept of foreign service, and lose him both to his country and his family. If money can be found to support him, I wish you would advise him to go to Geneva, where his principles of religion and liberty will be confirmed, and where he may stay till you see if a pardon can be procured for him. As soon as Commodore Barnet comes home, inquire for your brother Billie,[2] and take care of him on my account.

I recommend to you the payment of my debts, particularly all servants' wages, as mentioned in the state of my affairs. I must again recommend to you your unhappy mother. Comfort her, and take all the care you can of your brothers; and may God of his infinite mercy preserve, guide, and conduct you and them through all the vicissi-

[1] The Honourable Charles Boyd. He had been engaged in the rebellion, but contrived to effect his escape to France. He died in 1782.

[2] The Honourable William Boyd. He was at this period a midshipman in the Royal Navy, but afterward entered the army, and served in the 114th Regiment of Foot.

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tudes of this life, and, after it, bring you to the habitations of the just, and make you happy in the enjoyment of himself to eternity, is the sincere prayer of

Your affectionate father,
WILLIAM BOYD.

The Rev. Alexander Home to the Duke of Hamilton.

SATURDAY, 1 o'clock.

I shall deliver the letter your Grace sent me last night, and beg, if there be any answer to the enclosed, that you will send it to me by the bearer, or, if that does not suit your conveniency, be pleased to send it as the last to me, at the British, before four o'clock. I give you the joy to know that the beauty of his behaviour, on losing all hope of life, appeared to me something more than human.

Sunday morning. — I was with our most unfortunate friend several hours yesterday. His behaviour continues calm and resolute, which I am convinced he will support to the last. With the answer to the enclosed, be pleased to send the sketch of this letter to Lord Boyd. He called anxiously for it yesterday. God bless your Grace. I have the honour to be,

Your Grace's very melancholy, humble servant,
ALEX. HOME.

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About eight o'clock on the morning of his execution, the 18th of August, Lord Kilmarnock was waited upon by Mr. Forster, who informs us that he found him in "a most calm and happy temper, without any disturbance or confusion in his mind, and with apparent marks of ease and serenity in his aspect." "He continued," adds Mr. Forster, "all the morning of his execution in the same uniform temper, unruffled, and without any sudden vicissitudes and starts of passion." He had scarcely concluded his devotions, when General Williamson came to inform him that the sheriffs waited for him. Even on receiving this awful summons to the scaffold, he betrayed not the slightest trepidation, but, turning "calmly and gracefully" to the lieutenant, "General," he said, "I am ready, and will follow you."

At the foot of the first flight of stairs, he met and embraced his fellow sufferer, Lord Balmerino; and from thence was conducted with the usual ceremonies to the Tower gate, where he was formally delivered over to the custody of the sheriffs. As the clock struck ten, he came forth, supported by Mr. Forster and his friend Mr. Home, a young clergyman. He was dressed in a complete suit of black, his hair unpowdered and in a bag. As he passed to the scaffold amidst the vast masses of human beings which were collected on the occasion, his handsome and graceful person, the serenity of his countenance,

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and his unaffected dignity, excited no less the commiseration of the spectators than the soldier-like and undaunted bearing of Lord Balmerino called forth their admiration and surprise.[1]

About eleven o'clock, Lord Kilmarnock received a letter from Lord Balmerino expressing a wish to be allowed an interview with him. The latter was accordingly admitted into Lord Kilmarnock's apartment, when the following conversation took place between them:

Balmerino. — "My lord, I beg leave to ask your lordship one question."

Kilmarnock. — "To any question, my lord, that you shall now think proper to ask, I believe I shall see no reason to decline giving an answer."

Balmerino. — "Why then, my lord, did you ever see or know of any order, signed by the prince, to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden?"

Kilmarnock. — "No, my lord."

Balmerino. — "Nor I, neither; and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their own murderous schemes."

Kilmarnock. — "No, my lord, I do not think that this inference can be drawn from it; because, while I was a prisoner at Inverness, I was informed by several officers that there was such an order,

[1] "Pitied by gentle minds, Kilmarnock died." Among other instances of the deep interest which was excited at the period by Lord Kilmarnock's fine figure and unhappy fate, may be mentioned the extravagant passion conceived for him by the celebrated Ethelreda Harrison, Lady Townshend.

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signed 'George Murray,' and that it was in the duke's custody."

Balmerino. — "Lord George Murray! why then, they should not charge it on the prince."

The two unfortunate noblemen then embraced each other tenderly for the last time, Lord Balmerino again observing, with generous sympathy for his friend, "My dear Lord Kilmarnock, I am only sorry that I cannot pay all this reckoning alone: once more, farewell for ever!"

The general impression, which existed at the period, that an order had been issued by the Jacobites to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden, is now known to have originated in an infamous invention of the victorious party. It seems, in the first instance, to have been sedulously propagated by them in order to excuse the frightful scenes of massacre and desolation which were perpetrated after the action, and afterward to have been seized hold of as a fortunate expedient by the Duke of Cumberland, in order to justify him in his harsh treatment of Lord Kilmarnock, when a single word from him would have delivered that unfortunate nobleman from a violent death. "Take notice," writes Walpole, "that the duke's charging this on Lord Kilmarnock, certainly on misinformation, decided this unhappy man's fate!"

After his conversation with Lord Balmerino, Lord Kilmarnock spent about an hour in devotion, in which he was joined by Mr. Forster and

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the friends who attended him. A wish had been expressed by him that Lord Balmerino might be led first to the scaffold, but being told that it was impossible, as his own name was mentioned first in the warrant, he appeared satisfied and allowed the subject to drop. He partook of a glass of wine and a piece of bread, and having taken an affectionate farewell of his friends, he expressed his readiness to proceed to the scaffold, whither he proceeded on foot, with the sheriffs walking in advance of him.

In preparing himself for the last stroke, Lord Kilmarnock seems to have constantly occupied his thoughts and conversation in familiarising himself with the awful scene in which he was about to be the principal, — with the paraphernalia of the scaffold, and the frightful apparatus of death. As he stepped on the fatal stage, his eye suddenly caught the scene of solemn magnificence, so painfully interesting even to the most unconcerned spectator, and the few words which he uttered to the person nearest to him showed that he was deeply alive to the terrors of that awful moment. "When he beheld," says Sir Walter Scott, "the fatal scaffold covered with black cloth; the executioner with his axe and his assistants; the sawdust which was soon to be drenched with his blood; the coffin prepared to receive the limbs which were yet warm with life; above all, the immense display of human countenances which surrounded the

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scaffold like a sea, all eyes being bent on the sad object of the preparation, his natural feelings broke forth in a whisper to the friend on whose arm he leaned, 'Home, this is terrible!'"

Neither in the bearing, however, of his graceful figure, nor in the expression of his pale and handsome countenance, was there discoverable the least outward symptom of panic or unseemly timidity. "His whole behaviour," says Mr. Forster, "was so humble and resigned, that not only his friends, but every spectator, was deeply moved; even the executioner burst into tears, and was obliged to use artificial spirits to support and strengthen him." Having offered up a short prayer, at the conclusion of which he invoked a blessing on George the Second and the reigning family, he again took an affecting leave of his friends, whom he tenderly embraced. With the assistance of these gentlemen, he stripped off his coat, turned down his shirt collar, and tucked up his long hair under a napkin of damask cloth, which was formed in the shape of a cap. He then addressed himself to the executioner, who had been compelled to drink several glasses of ardent spirits to brace up his nerves, and who burst into tears while he asked his forgiveness. Lord Kilmarnock bade him take courage, and presenting him with five guineas, told him that he would drop his handkerchief as a signal for him to strike. He then knelt down on a black cushion; but, in this act, happening to

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place both his hands on the block, either to support himself, or as affording a more convenient posture for devotion, the executioner requested that he would remove them, as they might either be mangled or break the blow. He was then told that the collar of his waistcoat was in the way, on which he rose once more on his feet, and with the help of one of his friends took it off. His neck being now bare to the shoulder, he again knelt down, telling the executioner that he would give him the signal in about two minutes. This interval, as appeared by the movement of his hands and occasionally of his head, was spent in fervent devotion; and then, having fixed his head close upon the block, he gave the signal by dropping his handkerchief. The executioner at once severed the head from the body, leaving only a small part of the skin, which was immediately divided by a gentler stroke. The head was received in a piece of red baize, and with the body immediately placed in the coffin.

"Lord Kilmarnock," writes Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, "remained an hour and a half in the house, and shed tears. At last he came to the scaffold, certainly much terrified, but with a resolution that prevented his behaving the least meanly or unlike a gentleman. He took no notice of the crowd, only to desire that the baize might be lifted up from the rails, that the mob might see the spectacle. He stood and prayed some time

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with Forster, who wept over him, exhorted and encouraged him. He delivered a long speech to the sheriff, and with a noble manliness stuck to the recantation he had made at his trial; declaring he wished that all who embarked in the same cause might meet the same fate. He then took off his bag, coat, and waistcoat, with great composure, and after some trouble put on a napkin-cap, and then several times tried the block; the executioner, who was in white, with a white apron, out of tenderness concealing the axe behind himself. At last the earl knelt down, with a visible unwillingness to depart, and after five minutes dropped his handkerchief, — the signal, — and his head was cut off at once, only hanging by a bit of skin, and was received in a scarlet cloth by four of the undertaker's men kneeling, who wrapped it up and put it into the coffin with the body; orders having been given not to expose the heads, as used to be the custom."

Lord Kilmarnock was executed on the 18th of August, 1746, at the age of forty-one. His remains were interred among many others of the headless and illustrious dead, in St. Peter's Church in the Tower.

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CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE MACKENZIE, EARL OF CROMARTIE.

Joins the Pretender Soon after His Landing — Taken Prisoner before the Battle of Culloden — Trial — His Address to the Lords on Behalf of His Family — Lady Cromartie Puts a Petition into the King's Hands — Remission of Part of His Sentence — Reduced to the Greatest Distress — Relieved by the Government — His Death.

GEORGE, Earl of Cromartie, was born in 1710. Shortly after the landing of Charles Edward in the Highlands, he joined the prince's standard, with his eldest son, Lord Macleod, and about four hundred of his clan. At the battle of Falkirk, he fought on foot at the head of his gallant followers; a circumstance which, as well as his volunteering to share the same privations and hardships that were endured by his humblest clansmen, is said to have rendered him the object of their almost romantic adoration.

On the 15th of April, 1746, the day before the battle of Culloden, Lord Cromartie, with fourteen other officers of the insurgent army, was taken prisoner by a body of Lord Sutherland's militia, in the dining-room of Dunrobin Castle. From

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Dunrobin he was sent by sea to Inverness, and from thence to London, where, on the 28th of July, he was tried by his peers in Westminster Hall, with his friends, Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino. Walpole, who was present at the trial, observes, "Lord Cromartie is an indifferent figure, appeared much dejected, and rather sullen; he dropped a few tears the first day, and swooned as soon as he got back to his cell."

On the 30th Lord Cromartie was again brought to the bar of Westminster Hall, to receive judgment. Being asked, according to custom, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he expressed the deepest contrition for the crime of which he had been guilty; insisting that he had been seduced from the paths of loyalty in an unguarded moment by the arts of desperate and designing men; and declaring himself to be warmly attached to the interests of the reigning family, and to the principles which had raised them to the throne. Finally he addressed himself to the assembled peers in a fine appeal for mercy, which even those who were most inclined to condemn him as a traitor, or despise him as a renegade, were forced to admire for its eloquence and pathos. "Nothing, my lords, remains," he said, "but to throw myself, my life, and fortune, upon your lordships' compassion; but these, my lords, as to myself are the least part of my sufferings. I have involved an affectionate wife,

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with an unborn infant, as parties of my guilt, to share its penalties; I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy, and regard to his parents, hurried him down the stream of rebellion; I have involved, also, eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let them, my lords, be pledges to his Majesty; let them be pledges to your lordships; let them be pledges to my country for mercy; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears, — let the powerful language of innocent nature supply my want of eloquence and persuasion; let me enjoy mercy, but no longer than I deserve it; and let me no longer enjoy life than I shall use it to deface the crime I have been guilty of. Whilst I thus intercede to his Majesty, through the mediation of your lordships, for mercy, let my remorse for my guilt as a subject, — let the sorrow of my heart as a husband, — let the anguish of my mind as a father, speak the rest of my misery. But if, after all, my lords, my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the public, and nothing but my blood can atone for my unhappy crime; if the sacrifice of my life, my fortune, and family, is judged indispensably necessary for stopping the loud demands of public justice; and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me, not mine, but thy will, O God, be done!"

The most extraordinary exertions were made by the Dukes of Hamilton and Montrose, the Earl

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of Stair, and others of Lord Cromartie's friends, to obtain a remission of his sentence. The Prince of Wales, also, was induced to intercede warmly in his behalf; but the most interesting and perhaps the most powerful mediator was Lady Cromartie, who not only retained the beauty which had distinguished her in her earlier days, but was the mother of daughters as lovely as herself, and was now in the interesting condition of being on the point of giving birth to another offspring. The child, then unborn, was afterward Lady Augusta Mackenzie, who became the wife of Sir William Murray of Ochtertyne, and who, it is said, bore on her neck the evident mark of an axe, which had been impressed there by the imagination of her mother, while labouring under the terrors of suspense on account of her unhappy lord.

Having previously delivered memorials in person to the different lords of the council, Lady Cromartie, on the Sunday after judgment had been pronounced on her husband, proceeded to Kensington, dressed in deep mourning, and, seizing an opportunity when the king was going to chapel, fell on her knees before him, and, clinging to the skirt of his coat, succeeded in forcing a petition into his hands. She had scarcely accomplished her purpose when she fainted away. The king raised her himself, and, delivering the petition to the Duke of Grafton, desired Lady Stair, who accompanied her on her painful errand, to conduct her

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to a neighbouring apartment, where proper care would be taken of her. "Lady Cromartie," writes Horace Walpole, "presented her petition to the king last Sunday. He was very civil to her, but would not at all give her any hopes. Lord Cornwallis told me that her lord weeps every time anything of his fate is mentioned to him."

About the same time, we find the afflicted wife making another and affecting appeal to the Princess of Wales. "Lady Cromartie, who is said to have drawn her husband into these circumstances," writes Gray, the poet, "was at Leicester House on Wednesday with four of her children. The princess saw her, and made no other answer than by bringing in her own children and placing them by her, which, if true, is one of the prettiest things I ever heard." These frequent and urgent appeals, added to the intercession of the Prince of Wales, had at length the desired effect, and on the 9th of August, two days before the order was signed for the execution of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, it was notified to Lord Cromartie that his life would be spared. At the same time his estates were sold by order of the government, and he was ordered to confine his place of residence to the distant county of Devonshire. The sentence of death, however, which had been passed on him, remained virtually unrepealed till the month of October, 1749, when his pardon was allowed to pass the great seal, and five

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hundred pounds a year was settled on him out of his forfeited estate. Previous to this latter boon being conferred on him, Lord Cromartie and his large family seem to have been reduced almost to positive distress. Many years afterward, when his daughter, Lady Elibank, an elegant and accomplished woman, happened to be complimented by a friend on the beauty of her hands and arms, "Ah, madam," she replied, "let us never be vain of such things; these hands and arms at one time washed the clothes and prepared the food of a father, mother, and seven other children." Lord Cromartie died in 1759.

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CHAPTER V.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY.

In Arms against the Government in 1715 — Joins the Pretender in 1745 — His Character as a Military Officer — His Conduct at the Battles of Preston, Falkirk, and Culloden — Escapes to the Continent — His Death.

THIS nobleman, whom we have seen playing so conspicuous a part in the annals of 1745, was the fifth son of John, first Duke of Athol. In 1715, he had taken up arms against the government, serving as colonel under his elder brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine. He was present at the fight of Glenshiel, in 1719, shortly after which period he entered the military service of the King of Sardinia, in which he served for some years. Having at length received his pardon from the government, he returned to Scotland, where he married, in 1727, Amelia, daughter and heiress of James Murray of Strowen and Glencarse, by whom he was the father of five children, of whom the eldest, John, subsequently succeeded as third Duke of Athol.

From the period of his marriage till the raising of the chevalier's standard in the Highlands, Lord

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George Murray continued to live quietly on his own property in Scotland. Faithful, however, to the principles for which he had fought in his youth, on the 5th of September, 1745, he joined the standard of Charles at Perth with a large body of the vassals of his brother, the Duke of Athol, and immediately afterward had the compliment paid him of being appointed lieutenant-general of the insurgent army. His appearance in the Highland camp was hailed with the greatest satisfaction, and the happiest results were anticipated from his military experience and well-known personal intrepidity. "Lord George Murray," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "possessed a natural genius for military operations, and was a man of surprising talents; which, had they been cultivated by the study of military tactics, would unquestionably have rendered him one of the greatest generals of his age. He was tall and robust, and brave in the highest degree; conducting the Highlanders in the most heroic manner, and always the first to rush, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy. He used to say, when we advanced to the charge: 'I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but merely to follow me.' He slept little, was continually occupied with all manner of details, and was, altogether, most indefatigable, combining and directing alone all our operations; in a word, he was the only person capable of conducting our army. He was vigilant, active, and diligent; his

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plans were always judiciously formed, and he carried them promptly and vigorously into execution. However, with an infinity of good qualities, he was not without his defects. Proud, haughty, blunt, and imperious, he wished to have the exclusive ordering of everything, and, feeling his superiority, he would listen to no advice. Still, it must be owned that he had no coadjutor capable of advising him, and his having so completely the confidence of his soldiers enabled him to perform wonders. He possessed the art of employing men to advantage, without having had time to discipline them; but, taking them merely as they came from the plough, he made them defeat some of the best disciplined troops in the world. Nature had formed him for a great warrior; he did not require the accidental advantage of birth."

The high hopes which were formed of Lord George Murray by his friends were fully borne out by the skill and gallantry which he subsequently displayed at the battle of Preston, where he signally defeated Sir John Cope at the head of a regular army and a superior force. In the retreat from Derby, Lord George took upon himself the difficult and dangerous post of commanding the rear, in which he was constantly harassed for several days by the enemy's cavalry, till he finally succeeded in repulsing them at Clifton. When the moment arrived for attacking them, Lord George drew his broadsword, and exclaiming,

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"Claymore!" rushed forward at the head of the Macphersons. Between him and the enemy lay a thick hedge, in dashing through which he lost his bonnet and wig, and was compelled to fight bare-headed during the remainder of the fray. So well conducted was the whole affair, and so impetuous was the onset, that the Duke of Cumberland very nearly fell into the hands of the Highlanders, and subsequently had a still narrower escape with his life. "The duke's footman declared," says the Chevalier de Johnstone, "that his master would have been killed, if the pistol, with which a Highlander took aim at his head, had not missed fire." At the battle of Falkirk, which was fought the next month, and where the insurgents were again completely successful, Lord George displayed his usual skill and intrepidity, fighting at the head of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, with his drawn sword in his hand, and his Highland target on his arm.

On the eve of the battle of Culloden, Lord George Murray advocated and commanded the famous night march to Nairn, which, it will be remembered, was undertaken for the purpose of surprising the English in their camp. That the enterprise failed as it did, was certainly attributable to no fault of Lord George. The Highlanders, it will be recollected, were greatly harassed and dispirited by the privations and fatigue to which they had recently been exposed, while the unusual darkness of the night impeded and embarrassed

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them in their march, so that, when the hour arrived which had been fixed upon for the attack, they were still within four miles of the English camp. Under these circumstances, — the daylight already beginning to glimmer, and the roll of the enemy's drums announcing that they were on the alert, — Lord George issued the order for retreat.

For having taken this step, which it was asserted was in positive disobedience of orders, Lord George was accused of treachery by his enemies, and, moreover, rendered himself, most undeservedly, an object of suspicion to Charles, whose mind was already sufficiently prepared to receive any unfavourable impression in regard to the conduct of his faithful general. Lord George, indeed, by the waywardness of his temper, and his cold and unconciliating manners, had contrived to make many enemies in the Highland camp, who accordingly missed no opportunity of infecting the prince with their individual prejudices and dislikes. Whatever cause of offence, however, he may have given to these persons, it is certain that in his public capacity his conduct was unimpeachable; that he served his young master to the last with unvarying zeal and fidelity; and that, more especially as regards the retreat from Nairn, the act was not only that of a prudent general, but one which existing circumstances rendered imperatively necessary. Lord George subsequently drew up a paper in vindica-

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tion of his conduct on this occasion. Charles, too, at a later period, entirely exculpated his faithful companion-in-arms; and though his account of what took place differs in some particulars from that of Lord George, it is nevertheless much to the prince's credit that he acquitted Lord George even more fully than Lord George in his own account acquits himself.

At the battle of Culloden, Lord George Murray headed the right wing of the insurgent army, consisting of the Camerons, the Stuarts, and other clans. During the action, he displayed his usual decision and intrepidity, dashing forward at the head of his gallant Highlanders with the same heroic energy which had distinguished him in more successful fights. At the close of that eventful day, his sole wish appears to have been to expire on the plains of Culloden, for, being thrown from his horse severely wounded, he refused to quit the field of battle, and was only removed to a place of safety by the kind force used by his devoted followers. However, he soon recovered his wonted energy, and by his unceasing efforts to retrieve the past misfortune, and by the spirit which he infused into all around him, he soon found himself at the head of a small army at Ruthven, consisting of the fugitives from Culloden, and amounting to about twelve hundred men. At the head of this gallant band, he still proposed to carry on the war in the Highlands; but already

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the Duke of Cumberland was approaching with his victorious army; supplies of all kinds were procured only with the greatest difficulty; and, finally, a message was received from Charles, cordially thanking his adherents for the zeal which they had displayed in his cause, but recommending that each should secure his safety as he best might. It was then that Lord George took a last farewell of that devoted band; many of whom were destined, like himself, to pine as exiles in a foreign land; many to wander, proscribed fugitives, among their native fastnesses, and to behold the ruin of their families and the conflagration of their homes; and others — who were perhaps the most to be envied — to expiate their imprudence and their gallantry on the scaffold.

Lord George effected his escape to the Continent, where he resided for some time both in France and Italy. He subsequently retired to North Holland, where he assumed the name of De Valignié, and where he died on the 15th of October, 1760.

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CHAPTER VI.

FLORA MACDONALD.

Her Parentage — Tracked by Captain Ferguson after Parting from the Prince — Arrested on Her Return to Her Mother's House — Carried on Board the *Furnace* Sloop of War — Bishop Forbes's Account of Her Captivity — Entertained by Lady Primrose on Her Release — Her Marriage — Doctor Johnson's Account of His Entertainment by Her — Her Family Emigrate to America, Where They Afterward Join the Loyalists, and Are Consequently Obliged to Return to Skye — Her Death.

THIS celebrated and interesting young lady was the daughter of Mr. Macdonald, of Milton, in South Uist, and was born about the year 1720. The romantic story of her wanderings with Charles Edward among the Western Isles has already been fully detailed. It merely remains, therefore, to trace her history from the period when, for the last time, she set eyes on Charles at Portree, where she remained for some time watching the small boat which was conveying him to the wild but hospitable island of Raasay.

"Far over yon hills of the heather so green,
And down by the corrie that sings to the sea,
The bonny young Flora sat sighing her lane,
The dew on her plaid, and the tear in her e'e.

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She look'd at a boat with the breezes that swung
Away on the wave, like a bird of the main;
And aye as it lessen'd, she sigh'd and she sung, —
Farewell to the lad I shall ne'er see again!
Farewell to my hero, the gallant and young!
Farewell to the lad I shall ne'er see again!"

Having received the grateful acknowledgments of Charles, who expressed a mournful hope at parting that they might "meet at St. James's yet," the young heroine made the best of her way to her mother's house of Armadale, in the district of Sleat in Skye, which she reached after a very fatiguing journey of several miles. With a secrecy and caution which are supposed but rarely to distinguish her sex, she maintained a profound silence on the subject of her recent extraordinary wanderings, and even resisted the natural impulse which prompted her to communicate them to her own mother. She soon learned, however, that her secret had transpired from another quarter, and that already the house of Kingsburgh, where she had passed a night with Charles, had received a visit from the royal troops, who had obtained certain information as to her recent movements, and were even acquainted with the particulars of the female attire worn by the prince. The officer who headed the party was the notorious Captain Ferguson, whose acts of inhuman brutality had rendered him the terror of the Western Isles. Addressing himself to Kingsburgh, he inquired where Miss

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Macdonald, and the person who was with her in woman's clothes, had lain. Kingsburgh answered that he knew very well where Miss Macdonald had slept; but as for servants, he never asked any questions in such matters. Ferguson then turned to Lady Kingsburgh, and inquired, with abrupt brutality, whether she laid the young Pretender and Miss Flora in the same bed. "Sir," she replied, "whom you mean by the young Pretender, I do not pretend to guess; but I can assure you it is not the fashion in Skye to lay the mistress and maid in the same bed together." He then desired to be conducted to the rooms where they had severally slept, on inspecting which, he significantly remarked that the room which had been occupied by the presumed maid was the better of the two.

Flora Macdonald had returned to her mother's house only a few days, when she was arrested by an officer and a party of soldiers, who carried her on board a vessel of war which was stationed in the neighbourhood, without allowing her to take leave of her friends, or even to carry with her a change of apparel. The vessel in question was the *Furnace* sloop of war, and as it was commanded by the inhuman Captain Ferguson, the noble-minded girl seems to have been greatly alarmed at the prospect of the treatment she was likely to experience. Fortunately, however, she met with the greatest kindness from General Campbell, who happened

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to be on board at the time. One of the lieutenant's cabins was set apart for herself and her maid, and about three weeks afterward, the *Furnace* happening to be cruising near her mother's house, she was allowed to go on shore to take leave of her friends in custody of an officer and a party of soldiers. Two injunctions, however, were laid on her; namely, that she should on no account speak in the Gaelic language, nor hold any conversation except in the hearing of the officer who accompanied her.

From the *Furnace*, Flora Macdonald was removed to the *Eltham*, commanded by Commodore Smith, who treated her with an almost chivalrous respect, and, by inducing her to sit for her picture shortly after her arrival in London, showed how highly he appreciated the romantic heroism which she had displayed in the cause of an unfortunate prince. On the deck of this vessel, she encountered an old friend and companion in adversity, Captain O'Neal, who has been mentioned as playing so conspicuous a part as the associate of Charles in his wanderings, and as having formed a tender but hopeless attachment for herself. She immediately went up to him, and, slapping him playfully on the cheek, "To that black face," she said, "I owe all my misfortune." O'Neal, however, assured her that she had little reason to be either afraid or ashamed of the part which she had acted, and that in fact she had only

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to glory in it, and to remain true to her principles, and it would greatly redound to her happiness and honour.

The noble-minded girl was detained altogether on shipboard for five months. Of this period, nearly three months were passed in Leith Roads, in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh, during which interval she continued to be regarded as an object of interest and curiosity by persons of all principles and all ranks. Those who were well-wishers to the cause of the Stuarts showed on every occasion how entirely they appreciated the heroism and self-devotion which she had displayed on behalf of their beloved and unfortunate prince. The Jacobite ladies of Edinburgh, more especially, vied with each other in loading her with all kinds of presents, which were likely either to add to her comforts or to lessen the evils of confinement.

Among others who, at this period, visited Flora Macdonald from admiration of her character, and from a devotion to the gallant cause in which she was a sufferer, was Bishop Forbes, who has bequeathed us some very interesting particulars respecting her during her sojourn in Leith Roads. "In her journal," he says, "Miss Macdonald has omitted several things which she particularly mentioned to those who conversed with her when she was lying in the Road of Leith, on board of the *Eltham* and *Bridgewater*, ships of war. She told

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me that when the prince put on woman's clothes, he proposed carrying a pistol under one of his petticoats for making some small defence in case of an attack; but Miss Macdonald declared against it, alleging that if any persons should happen to search them, the pistol would only serve to make a discovery. The prince, therefore, was obliged to content himself with only a short, heavy cudgel, with which he designed to do his best to knock down any single person that should attack him.

"She used likewise to tell that, in their passage to the Isle of Skye, a heavy rain fell upon them, which, with former fatigues, distressed her much. To divert her, the prince sang several pretty songs. She fell asleep, and, to keep her so, the prince still continued to sing. Happening to awake with some little bustle in the boat, she found the prince leaning over her with his hands spread about her head. She asked what was the matter. The prince told her that one of the rowers, being obliged to do somewhat about the sail, behooved to step over her body (the boat was so small), and lest he should have done her hurt, either by stumbling or trambling upon her in the dark, he had been doing his best to preserve his guardian from harm. When Miss Macdonald was telling this particular part of the adventure to some ladies that were paying their respects to her, some of them with rapture cried out, 'Oh, miss, what a happy creature are you, who had that dear prince to lull you asleep,

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and to take such care of you with his hands spread about your head when you was sleeping! You are surely the happiest woman in the world!' 'I could,' says one of them (Miss Mary Clerk), 'wipe your shoes with pleasure, and think it an honour to do so, when I reflect that you had the honour to have the prince for your handmaid; we all envy you greatly.' Much about the same time, a lady of rank and dignity (Lady Mary Cochrane), being on board with Miss Macdonald, a brisk gale began to blow and make the sea rough, and not so easy for a small boat to row to Leith. The lady whispered to Miss Macdonald that she would with pleasure stay on board all night, that she might have it to say that she had the honour of lying in the same bed with that person who had been so happy as to be guardian to her prince. Accordingly they did sleep in one bed that night.

"When Miss Macdonald was on board the *Bridgewater* in Leith Road, accounts had come that the prince was taken prisoner, and one of the officers had brought the news of this report on board. She got an opportunity of talking privately to some who were then visiting her, and said, with tears in her eyes, 'Alas! now I am afraid that all is in vain that I have done; the prince at last is in the hands of his enemies!' Though at that time great fear was entertained about the truth of this account, yet those who were with Miss Macdonald endeavoured all they could to cheer

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her up, and to dissuade her from believing any such thing; but still fears haunted her mind, till the matter was cleared up and the contrary appeared.

"When she was in the Road of Leith, she never was allowed to set her foot on shore; though in other respects the officers were extremely civil and complaisant to her, and took it exceedingly well when any persons came to visit her. Sometimes they were so obliging as to come on shore for good company to attend her, and obligingly declared that if they knew any person to come on board out of curiosity, and not out of respect to Miss Macdonald, that person should not have access to her. This genteel behaviour makes it to be presumed that their orders were so exceedingly strict that they could not dare to bring her ashore. Commodore Smith, commander of the *Eltham*, behaved like a father to her, and tendered her many good advices as to her behaviour in her ticklish situation; and Captain Knowler, of the *Bridgewater*, used her with the utmost decency and politeness. When company came to her, she was indulged the privilege by both these humane and well-bred gentleman to call for anything on board, as if she had been at her own fireside, and the servants of the cabin were obliged to give her all manner of attendance, and she had the liberty to invite any of her friends to dine with her when she pleased. Her behaviour in

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company was so easy, modest, and well adjusted, that every visitant was much surprised; for she had never been out of the islands of South Uist and Skye till about a year before the prince's arrival, that she had been in the family of Macdonald of Largoe, in Argyllshire, for the space of ten or eleven months.

"Some that went on board to pay their respects to her used to take a dance in the cabin, and to press her much to share with them in the diversion; but with all their importunity they could not prevail with her to take a trip. She told them that at present her dancing days were done, and she would not readily entertain a thought of that diversion till she should be assured of her prince's safety, and perhaps not till she should be blessed with the happiness of seeing him again. Although she was easy and cheerful, yet she had a certain mixture of gravity in all her behaviour, which became her situation exceedingly well and set her off to great advantage. She is of a low stature, of a fair complexion, and well enough shaped. One would not discern by her conversation that she had spent all her former days in the Highlands; for she talks English, or rather Scotch, easily, and not at all through the Erse tone. She has a sweet voice, and sings well, and no lady, Edinburgh bred, can acquit herself better at the tea-table than she did in Leith Roads. Her wise conduct in one of the most perplexing scenes that

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can happen in life, her fortitude and good sense, are memorable instances of the strength of a female mind, even in those years that are tender and inexperienced."

On the 7th of November, 1746, the *Bridgewater* set sail for London, with Flora Macdonald on board as a prisoner, for the purpose of placing her at the disposal of the English government. In the British capital, however, she had no reason to complain of the treatment which she received. She was placed, indeed, under the surveillance of a messenger, one William Dick, but she was allowed to reside in the house of a private family, where every attention seems to have been paid to her comforts and wishes. According to Lord Mahon, she was released from her easy thraldom after the lapse of a twelvemonth, at the intercession of Frederick, Prince of Wales. This, however, was not exactly the case, inasmuch as her confinement lasted only eight months; she was set at liberty in the month of July, 1747, by the provisions of the Act of Indemnity. Still, it is far from improbable that to the intercession of the prince she may have been indebted for the unusual mildness with which she was treated by the English government. Once, when the princess was inveighing in very strong terms against the lenity shown her by the government, and on the treasonable conduct of Flora herself, "madame," was the prince's creditable rebuke, "under similar circum-

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stances would not you have done the same? I hope, I am sure, you would."

On her release from captivity, Flora Macdonald was received as a welcome and honoured guest in the house of the Dowager Lady Primrose, of Dunniplace, in Essex Street in the Strand. It was this lady who, three years afterward, had the honour also of entertaining in the same house the unfortunate Charles Edward himself, on the occasion of the first secret visit which he paid to London. In the house of Lady Primrose she experienced, during the short period which elapsed before her return to the Highlands, a homage so universal and so flattering as to be sufficient to turn the head of any one less susceptible of vanity, or less right-minded, than herself. She was daily visited by persons of the highest rank, and on her quitting London, she was presented with the sum of nearly fifteen hundred pounds, which had been raised for her among the Jacobite ladies of the metropolis.

About three years after her return to Skye, Flora Macdonald gave her hand to Mr. Alexander Macdonald, the younger, of Kingsburgh, to whom she was married on the 6th of November, 1750, and by whom she became the mother of several children.[1] "It is remarkable," says Sir Walter

[1] "Kingsburgh," writes Boswell, in 1773, "was completely the figure of a gallant Highlander, exhibiting 'the graceful mien and manly looks,' which our popular Scotch song has justly attributed to that character. He had his tartan plaid thrown about

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Scott, "that this distinguished lady signed her name Flory, instead of the more classical orthography. Her marriage contract, which is in my possession, bears the name spelled Flory."

In the autumn of 1773, Doctor Johnson and his fellow traveller, James Boswell, were the guests of Flora Macdonald and her husband at Kingsburgh. "I was highly pleased," says Boswell, "to see Doctor Johnson safely arrived at Kingsburgh, and received by the hospitable Mr. Macdonald, who, with a most respectful attention, supported him into the house. There was a comfortable parlour with a good fire, and a dram went round. By and by supper was served, at which there appeared the lady of the house, the celebrated Miss Flora Macdonald. She is a little woman, of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well bred. To see Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great champion of the English Tories, salute Miss Macdonald in the Isle of Skye, was a striking sight; for, though somewhat congenial in their notions, it was very improbable they should meet here. Miss Flora Macdonald (for so I shall call her) told me, she heard upon the mainland, as she was returning home about a fortnight before, that Mr. Boswell was coming to Skye, and one Mr.

him, a large blue bonnet with a knot of black riband like a cockade, a brown short coat of a kind of duffil, a tartan waistcoat with gold buttons and gold buttonholes, a bluish philibeg, and tartan hose. He had jet black hair tied behind, and was a large, stately man, with a steady, sensible countenance."

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Johnson, a young English buck, with him. He was highly entertained with this fancy."

"I slept," adds Boswell, "in the same room with Doctor Johnson. Each had a neat bed, with tartan curtains, in an upper chamber. The room where we lay was a celebrated one. Doctor Johnson's bed was the very bed in which the grandson of the unfortunate King James the Second lay, on one of the nights after the failure of his rash attempt in 1745–6, while he was eluding the pursuit of the emissaries of government, which had offered thirty thousand pounds as a reward for apprehending him. To see Dr. Samuel Johnson lying in that bed, in the Isle of Skye, in the house of Miss Flora Macdonald, struck me with such a group of ideas, as it is not easy for words to describe, as they passed through the mind. He smiled, and said, 'I have had no ambitious thoughts in it.'[1] At breakfast, he said he would have given a good deal rather than not have lain in that bed. I owned he was the lucky man; and observed, that without doubt it had been contrived between Miss Macdonald and him. She seemed to acquiesce; adding, 'You know young bucks are always favourites of the ladies!' He spoke of Prince Charles being here, and asked Miss Macdonald, 'Who was

[1] With no poetic ardour fired,
I press the bed where Wilmot lay;
That here he lived, or here expired,
Begets no numbers, grave or gay.

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with him? We were told, madame, in England, there was one Miss Flora Macdonald with him.' She said, 'They were very right;' and, perceiving Doctor Johnson's curiosity, though he had delicacy enough not to question her, very obligingly entertained him with a recital of the particulars which she herself knew of that escape, which does so much honour to the humanity, fidelity, and generosity of the Highlanders. Doctor Johnson listened to her with placid attention, and said, 'All this should be written down.'" [1]

Doctor Johnson has himself done full justice to the character of Flora Macdonald. In his journey to the Western Islands, he says, "We were entertained with the usual hospitality by Mr. Macdonald and his lady Flora Macdonald, a name that will be mentioned in history, and, if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour. She is a woman of middle stature, soft features, gentle manners, and elegant presence." And again, Doctor Johnson writes to Mrs. Thrale: "Here I had the honour of saluting the far-famed Miss Flora Macdonald. She must then (1746) have been a very young lady; she is now not old; of a pleasing person, and elegant behaviour. She told me that she thought herself honoured by my

[1] From this account, as well as from that of others who were personally concerned in the escape of Charles Edward, Boswell drew up his narrative of the escape of the royal adventurer, which is published in his "Tour to the Hebrides."

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visit; and I am sure that whatever regard she bestowed on me was liberally repaid. 'If thou likest her opinions thou wilt praise her virtue.' At Kingsburgh we were liberally feasted, and I slept in the same bed in which the prince reposed in his distress. The sheets which he used were never put to any meaner offices, but were wrapped up by the lady of the house,[1] and at last, according to her desire, were laid around her in her grave. These are not Whigs!"

Shortly after the visit paid them by Doctor Johnson, Kingsburgh and his wife, in consequence of their affairs having become embarrassed, were compelled to emigrate to America, where they settled on an estate which they purchased in North Carolina. On the breaking out of the civil troubles in that country, Kingsburgh sided with the royalist party, which led to his being arrested as a dangerous person, and thrown into prison. On his release, he took up arms against the republicans, and served for some time in a royalist regiment, called the North Carolina Volunteers. When the independence of America was at length acknowledged, Kingsburgh and his wife determined on returning to Skye; but on their passage home they encountered a French vessel of war, with which they were for some time engaged in a

[1] Mrs. Macdonald, of Kingsburgh. She was buried in one of the sheets slept in by Charles; the other she presented to her daughter-in-law, Flora Macdonald.

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sharp action. On the approach of the enemy, all the females on board were immediately ordered below. The heroine of 1745, however, insisted on remaining on deck, where, by her voice and example, she did her utmost to animate the sailors during the action. Unfortunately, she was thrown down in the confusion and broke her arm. Her lot, she afterward observed, was indeed a hard one, for she had risked her life both for the Stuarts and the house of Brunswick, and had received no reward for her pains.

The remainder of her eventful life was passed by Flora Macdonald in the Isle of Skye, where she died at the age of seventy, on the 4th of March, 1790. At her particular request her body was wrapped in one of the sheets that had been used by the unfortunate grandson of James the Second during the night he rested at Kingsburgh, which, as we have already mentioned, had been presented to her by her mother-in-law, Mrs. Macdonald. She was the mother of five sons, all of whom held commissions either in the military or naval service of the reigning sovereign. The eldest, Charles Macdonald, who was a captain in the Queen's Rangers, was a person highly distinguished for his accomplishments and graceful manners. When the grave closed upon his remains, his kinsman, the late Lord Macdonald, paid a pleasing tribute to his worth. "There lies," he said, "the most finished gentleman of my family and name."

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Flora Macdonald was also the mother of two daughters, the last survivor of whom — the widow of Major Macleod of Lochbay, in the Isle of Skye — I had the pleasure, some years since, of accompanying in a voyage through a part of the Western Islands. I had also the additional pleasure of hearing from her own lips the tale of her mother's adventures and escapes with Prince Charles, and of having some of the scenes where they occurred pointed out by her own hand. One of the first questions which she put to me was, "Where had I been staying?" When I told her "at Raasay," "Ah!" she said, in a tone which plainly told that she inherited the principles of her race, "you saw no red roses at Raasay." This interesting lady was then, I think, in her seventy-fourth year; she had pleasing, and even polished manners; was full of anecdote of the past, and had still the remains of beauty. She remembered the visit of Doctor Johnson and Boswell to Kingsburgh, and had been the companion of her parents when they emigrated to America. She spoke of her mother as a small but neat figure; and when I questioned her whether there was any resemblance between them, she told me that they were reckoned so alike that, half a century before, happening to be looking at a print of her mother in the window of a shop in the Strand, the celebrated General Burgoyne, who chanced to be passing at the time, was so struck with the resemblance that he accosted her

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Flora Macdonald.

Photo-etching after the painting by Ramsay

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and taxed her with the relationship. Her mother's escape with Charles Edward was then an event, she said, sufficiently recent to render her an object of considerable curiosity, and consequently, had her identity been proclaimed to the bystanders, she had little doubt, she added, but that she would have been followed by an inquisitive and disagreeable crowd. The few hours which I passed in the society of this interesting lady I have always looked back upon with satisfaction and pleasure. She died a few years afterward, at an advanced age.

There remain the names of other actors in the romantic annals of 1745, whose personal history, after the failure of their darling hopes, presents but few features of stirring interest or importance, but of whose subsequent fate a passing notice may be acceptable to the reader.

The young DUKE OF PERTH, says Douglas, "in spite of a very delicate constitution, underwent the greatest fatigues, and was the first on every occasion of duty, where his head or hands could be of use; bold as a lion in the field, but ever merciful in the hour of victory." After the battle of Culloden, the duke contrived to obtain a passage to France; but worn out by the fatigues and privations to which of late he had been constantly exposed, he died before he came in sight of the French coast, on the 13th of May, 1746. He was

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the sixth earl and the third nominal duke of his family. On board the same vessel with him were O'Sullivan and the prince's old tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan. The latter, it is said, on his return to Rome, being severely brought to task by the old chevalier, for having risked the life of his son with such slender chances of success, fell ill and died of the effects of the reproof.

The old MARQUIS OF TULLIBARDINE, — "high-minded Murray! the exiled, the dear!" — having heard the last shot fired at Culloden, travelled southward with one Mitchell, a servant of the chevalier. Worn out with age, sickness, and fatigue, he was induced to apply for shelter at the mansion of Buchanan of Drummakill, near Loch Lomond. The lady of the house was his own relation and a zealous Jacobite. Unfortunately, however, her husband was a devoted partisan of the government; and, being a magistrate and an officer of militia, he considered it his duty to deliver up the old hero of 1715 and 1745 to his enemies. For this breach of the laws of hospitality and honour, Drummakill is said to have been so thoroughly despised by the neighbouring gentry that not one of them would afterward speak to him or be in his company. The old lord was carried a prisoner to Dumbarton Castle, from whence he was removed to the *Eltham* man-of-war, lying in Leith Roads, in which vessel he was removed to London.

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Worn out by age and infirmities, and a prey to disappointment and disease, he died a prisoner in the Tower, in 1746, and was buried in St. Peter's Church in that fortress. The last wish of the gallant Balmerino was to have his coffin placed by that of Lord Tullibardine.

ALEXANDER, LORD FORBES OF PITSLIGO, whose virtues and reputation for prudence and strong sense had induced so many of the Lowland gentlemen to join the standard of the chevalier, had attained the mature age of sixty-five when he was induced to embark in the fatal enterprise. After the battle of Culloden he had the good fortune to escape to France, but, being shortly afterward attainted, he lost both his title and estate. The kindness, however, of his friends supplied him not only with the necessaries, but with the luxuries of life; and, but for the ardent desire which he felt to breathe once more his native air, it is said that the evening of his long life would have been a happy one. He died at Paris about the year 1762.

DONALD CAMERON, THE CELEBRATED LOCHIEL, the idol of his gallant clan, and the most beloved by Prince Charles of all the Highland chieftains, was so severely wounded at the battle of Culloden, that he had a very narrow escape from falling into the hands of the enemy, and expiating his loyalty

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to the Stuarts on the scaffold. To the daring and intrepid gallantry of a few of his devoted clan, who bore off their wounded chief from the field of battle, Lochiel was indebted for his life. After encountering numerous perils in his attempts to escape, he at length found refuge in a wretched hut on the great mountain of Benalder. His reflections were rendered the more painful in consequence of the reports which daily reached him of the remorseless vengeance with which his unhappy clan was visited by the royal forces. "Those ministers of vengeance," says Smollett, "were so alert in the execution of their office that, in a few days, there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast to be seen in the compass of fifty miles. All was ruin, silence, and desolation." At length a favourable opportunity offered itself to the fugitive to escape to the Continent. Having been wounded in both heels at Culloden, he was compelled to travel on horseback to the coast, where he embarked on board the same vessel as Charles Edward, and, after a voyage of nine days, landed in safety near Morlaix, in Brittany. Lochiel was made a lieutenant-colonel in the French service, and died a heart-broken exile in 1758.

CHARLES RADCLIFFE had escaped from Newgate in 1716, and, but for his attainder in that year, would have succeeded his unfortunate brother as Earl of Derwentwater, which title, however, he as-

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sumed till his death. He was captured at sea, in November, 1745, on board a French vessel, which was carrying arms to Scotland for the use of the insurgents. Being brought to London, he was easily identified as the same Charles Radcliffe who had been condemned for his share in the former rebellion, and who had evaded the last penalty of the law by escaping from Newgate. Accordingly, he was sentenced to death, and, after having lain in confinement for a year, was led to the scaffold on Tower Hill, on the 8th of December, 1746. In consequence of his high birth, he was admitted to the melancholy distinction of being beheaded. About eight o'clock in the morning, two troops of life-guards, and another of horse-guards, marched through the city to Little Tower Hill, where they were joined by a battalion of foot-guards, and were then disposed around the scaffold. About ten o'clock, the block, which was covered with black, was fixed on the fatal stage, and shortly afterward the coffin was brought, covered with black velvet, and ornamented with gilt handles and nails. On the coffin-plate was the inscription :

Carolus Radcliffe, Comes de Derwentwater,
Decollatus die 8 Decembris, 1746,
Ætatis 53.
Requiescat in pace.

About eleven o'clock, the sheriffs of London proceeded to the Tower, and demanded of the

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deputy governor, General Williamson, the body of Charles Radcliffe, which was accordingly surrendered to them with the usual formalities. He was brought in a landau over the Tower wharf, and, being thence removed into a mourning-coach, was conveyed to a temporary building or tent, lined with black, which had been raised at the foot of the scaffold. Here, attended by his friends and a Roman Catholic clergyman, he spent about half an hour in devotion.

His proud and gallant bearing on the scaffold procured him the general sympathy of the spectators. He was dressed in a scarlet coat, laced with black velvet and trimmed with gold, a gold-laced waistcoat, white silk stockings, and a white feather in his hat. He took an affectionate and cheerful farewell of the friends who accompanied him to the scaffold, and, having put on a damask cap, and presented the executioner with a handful of gold, he knelt down to his devotions, all the persons on the scaffold kneeling with him. He then divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and, again kneeling down, laid his head on the block. After a lapse of two minutes he stretched out his hands, which was the signal he had agreed upon with the executioner, when the axe fell, and his head was severed from his body at three blows, — the first stroke depriving him of life, and the last two completing the work. Thus fell the last male descendant of the Earls of Derwentwater, —

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the gallant grandson of Charles the Second, by his beautiful mistress, Mary Davis. He died, as he had lived, a Roman Catholic. His remains, accompanied by two mourning-coaches, were conveyed to the Church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, where they were interred by the side of his brother, the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded in 1716.

Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother of the celebrated Lochiel, was the last person who suffered death in the cause of the unfortunate Stuarts. He fought by the side of his brother at the battle of Culloden, and, after a long series of adventures and escapes, had the good fortune to reach the Continent. He was imprudent enough, however, to return to Scotland in 1753; and his person being seized, he was committed to the Tower, examined before the Privy Council, and, being arraigned on the act of attainder, which had already been passed against him, he was sentenced to death. According to the general opinion which was current at the period, the object of his returning to Scotland was to obtain restitution of a sum of money belonging to the chevalier, which had been embezzled by some of his adherents. In common charity, however, let us presume that the government had received private intimation of his having embarked in fresh intrigues; for otherwise it seems impossible to reconcile with

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our feelings of justice and humanity that the government, after a lapse of so many years, should have condemned a gallant, an amiable, and high-minded gentleman to a disgraceful death; more especially since examples were no longer required to deter others from crime, and, consequently, when the carrying out a stern sentence could be attributed to no other motives than cruelty or revenge.

At ten o'clock on the morning of his execution, Doctor Cameron was drawn on a sledge from the Tower to Tyburn. The mournful and trying journey occupied as long as two hours, the procession moving the whole way through a vast assemblage of people, who are said to have been deeply affected by his manly bearing and unhappy fate. Brave, amiable, and of unblemished character, — the husband of a beloved wife and the father of seven children, — guilty of no crime, but having sacrificed his life to his principles, the sad spectacle drew forth the tears of every spectator who was susceptible either of pity or admiration. "The populace," says one who lived at the period, "though not very subject to tender emotions, were moved to compassion, and even to tears, by his behaviour at the place of execution; and many sincere well-wishers to the present establishment thought that the sacrifice of this victim, at such a juncture, could not redound either to its honour or security." After having been suspended for half an hour, the body of the unfortunate gentle-

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man was removed from the gibbet; the head was then struck off, and the heart burned to ashes in the presence of the assembled crowd. Horace Walpole writes, a few days after the execution: "Doctor Cameron is executed, and died with the greatest firmness. His parting with his wife, the night before, was heroic and tender; he let her stay till the last moment, when, being aware that the gates of the Tower would be locked, he told her so. She fell at his feet in agonies. He said, 'Madam, this was not what you promised me;' and, embracing her, forced her to retire; then, with the same coolness, looked at the window till her coach was out of sight, after which he turned about and wept. His only concern seemed to be at the ignominy of Tyburn; he was not disturbed at the dresser for his body, nor at the fire to burn his bowels. The crowd was so great that a friend who attended him could not get away, but was forced to stay and behold the execution. But what will you say to the minister or priest that accompanied him? The wretch, after taking leave, went into a landau, where, not content with seeing the doctor hanged, he let down the top of the landau for the better convenience of seeing him emboweled." Doctor Cameron was executed on the 7th of June, 1753.

JOHN MURRAY OF BROUGHTON, a gentleman of good education and of no mean abilities, joined

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the standard of the chevalier immediately after his landing in the Highlands, and served as the prince's secretary throughout the campaign. He was taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden, and, apparently terribly affected at the prospect of death, he consented to save his own life by supplying the evidence required to ensure the condemnation of his associates. It was no sooner known that he had fallen into the hands of the government, than those who were intimately acquainted with his character seem to have correctly foretold the line of conduct which he was likely to pursue. When Æneas Macdonald, then a prisoner in London, was asked by Doctor Burton, of York, whether he considered it probable that Murray of Broughton would turn evidence for the Crown, as was commonly reported at the time, "I believe," he said, "Mr. Murray to be so honest between man and man, that in private life he would not be guilty of a dirty or dishonest action; but then," he added, "I know him to be such a coward, and to be possessed with such a fear of death, that I am much afraid, for my part, Mr. Murray may be brought the length of doing anything to save a wretched life." When confronted before the Privy Council with Sir John Douglas of Kelhead, grandfather of the present Marquis of Queensberry, the prisoner was asked, "Do you know this witness?" "Not I," was the answer of Douglas; "I once knew a person who bore

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the designation of Murray of Broughton; but that was a gentleman and a man of honour, and one that could hold up his head."

An existence purchased at the price of conscience and honour was little likely to be a happy one, and in the instance of Murray of Broughton was still further embittered by the feelings of contempt and abhorrence with which he is said to have been regarded by men of all parties. A curious anecdote, illustrative of the light in which his conduct was viewed by his contemporaries, is related by Mr. Lockhart in his "Life of Sir Walter Scott." Murray of Broughton happened to be a client of Sir Walter's father, who was a writer to the signet in Edinburgh, a sober and unromantic man, and strongly opposed to the claims of the house of Stuart. "Mrs. Scott's curiosity," says Mr. Lockhart, "was strongly excited one autumn by the regular appearance, at a certain hour every evening, of a sedan-chair, to deposit a person carefully muffled up in a mantle, who was immediately ushered into her husband's private room, and commonly remained with him there until long after the usual bedtime of this orderly family. Mr. Scott answered her repeated inquiries with a vagueness which irritated the lady's feelings more and more, until, at last, she could bear the thing no longer; but one evening, just as she heard the bell ring for the stranger's chair to carry him off, she made

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her appearance within the forbidden parlour with a salver in her hand, observing that she thought the gentlemen had sat so long they would be the better of a dish of tea, and ventured accordingly to bring some for their acceptance. The stranger, a person of distinguished appearance, and richly dressed, bowed to the lady, and accepted a cup; but her husband knit his brows, and refused very coldly to partake of the refreshment. A moment afterward the visitor withdrew, and Mr. Scott, lifting up the window-sash, took the cup, which he had left empty on the table, and tossed it out upon the pavement. The lady exclaimed for her china, but was put to silence by her husband's saying, 'I can forgive your little curiosity, madam, but you must pay the penalty. I may admit into my house, on a piece of business, persons wholly unworthy to be treated as guests by my wife. Neither lip of me nor of mine comes after Mr. Murray of Broughton's.'" The saucer belonging to Broughton's teacup was afterward made a prize of, and carefully preserved by Sir Walter Scott. Murray of Broughton survived the memorable scenes in which he had been actor for many years, during which period he resided principally in Scotland.

Before closing our memoirs of the gallant and unfortunate men who were engaged in the insurrection of 1745, it becomes necessary to say a few

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words respecting those persons of minor note or inferior rank who suffered on the scaffold for their loyalty to the Stuarts. It might have been expected that the vengeance which had been exacted, and the frightful horrors which had been committed after the battle of Culloden, — the ruin of whole families, the murder of husbands and brothers before their wives and sisters, the violation of women, the ravages which had been committed by fire and sword, and the almost entire sweeping away, throughout a large district, of house and cottage, of man and beast — might in some degree have softened the cruel policy of the English government, and have inclined them to show something like leniency to the victims who still remained in their hands. It might have been expected, also, when the thirst for vengeance had been in some degree quenched, that the reigning family and its responsible advisers might have been satisfied with making an example of a few of the more active and dangerous partisans of the house of Stuart, and, finally, that they would have drawn some line between a herd of common malefactors and a band of gallant men who had risked their lives and fortunes in the cause of duty, and who were consequently actuated by the highest motives which can influence the human mind.

The principal author and instigator of the merciless policy which followed the suppression of

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the insurrection of 1745 was unquestionably the Duke of Cumberland, who hurried impatiently from the massacres and conflagrations with which he had devastated the North, to press and insist on legal murders in the South. But, in condemning that memorable monster, we are not necessarily bound to acquit the reigning monarch, George the Second, of whom, though exclusively possessing the glorious prerogative of mercy, no single trait is recorded of his having ever sympathised with the many widows and orphans whom he had made, or of his having volunteered to extend the hand of pity to save a single wretch either from the gibbet or the axe. It may be argued, indeed, that his position being a novel and insecure one, — feeling himself to be in the precarious position of a sovereign of convenience, and not by legitimate right, and, moreover, contrasting, as he could scarcely fail to do, the lukewarm attachment and unromantic policy which maintained him on the throne with the impassioned devotion displayed toward the house of Stuart, — it may be argued, perhaps, under these circumstances, that it was natural he should listen to the persuasions of his son and his ministers, when they assured him that it was only by setting a terrible example that he could hope to prevent future rebellions, or to transmit his sceptre undisputed to his heirs. Still, it must always be a matter of astonishment and regret that no spark of com-

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passion should have been lighted up in his soul, and that he should have betrayed no single feeling of admiration for that all-devoted and all-sacrificing attachment to an exiled race, which the house of Hanover would at any period have given the brightest jewel in their diadem had it been displayed toward themselves. When he took up the pen to sign the order for their execution, did no tear fall on the death-warrants of those faithful men? Or when he approved of the expatriation of so many of the hardy children of the North, — when he sentenced them to be torn from their native mountains and valleys to wear out a life of slavery beneath the scorching tropic, — had he no thought that the misery which he inflicted rested not there alone? Had he no care for the homes which he consequently rendered desolate, the wives whom he made husbandless, and the children fatherless? Alas! it is to be feared that compassion and generosity of feeling were not the distinguishing characteristics of the last generation of the house of Hanover. The Stuarts, indeed, may have had their vices, their follies, and perhaps their crimes; but certainly the hand of no scion of that ill-fated race ever signed so inhuman an order as that for the massacre of Glencoe, or ever approved of such a frightful retribution as that which followed the suppression of the insurrection of 1745.

The first persons of inferior rank on whom the

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vengeance of the government fell were the English officers of the Manchester regiment, who, it will be remembered, were left behind at Carlisle on the retreat of the insurgent army to Scotland, and who subsequently fell into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland. The names of these unfortunate gentlemen, who were nine in number, were Francis Townly, who commanded the regiment, George Fletcher, Thomas Chadwick, James Dawson, Thomas Deacon, John Berwick, Andrew Blood, Thomas Syddal, and David Morgan. They were tried in the court-house of St. Margaret Southwark, on the 15th of July and the three following days, and were all ordered for execution. Eight of their brother officers, who were condemned at the same time, received reprieves.

The whole of these gallant but ill-fated men met their end with the greatest firmness, remaining true to their principles to the last. About eleven o'clock, on the 30th of July, they were conveyed in three hurdles from the New Gaol, Southwark, to Kennington Common, attended by a strong guard of soldiers. In the first hurdle or sledge were Colonels Blood and Berwick, the executioner sitting by them holding a drawn sword. All the horrors which had been contrived in a barbarous age as a punishment for high treason were actually carried out on this occasion in their most terrible shape. Near the gallows were placed a block and a large heap of fagots; the

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former to assist the hangman in his bloody task of disembowelling and beheading the prisoners, and the latter for burning their hearts and entrails. While the prisoners were being transferred from their several sledges into the cart from which they were to be turned off, the fagots were set on fire, and the soldiers then formed a circle around the place of execution. Though unattended by a clergyman, they spent about an hour in devotion, Morgan taking on himself the task of reading prayers, to which the others calmly but fervently responded.[1] On rising from their knees, they threw some written papers among the spectators, which were afterward found to contain the most ardent professions of attachment to the cause for which they suffered, and a declaration that they

[1] Morgan was a barrister-at-law, of a good family in Monmouthshire. By his own account, he was both a poet and a theologian. In the paper which he handed to the sheriff on the scaffold, he says: "I must make profession of that religion in which I was baptised, in which I have continued, and in which I shall, through the divine permission, die, which is that of the Church of England, and which I hope will stand and prevail against the malice, devices, and assaults of her enemies, as well those of the Church of Rome, as those equally dangerous, the followers of Luther and Calvin, covered under and concealed in the specious bugbears of popery and arbitrary power. This my faith I have fully set forth in a poem of two books, entitled 'The Christian Test, or the Coalition of Faith and Reason,' the first of which I have already published, and the latter I have bequeathed to the care of my unfortunate but very dutiful daughter, Mistress Mary Morgan, to be published by her, since it has pleased God I shall not live to see it."

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continued true to their principles to the last. They also severally delivered papers of a similar import to the sheriffs, and then, throwing down their gold-laced hats, they submitted themselves to the tender mercies of the hangman. Their behaviour to the last is said to have been in every way suitable to their unhappy circumstances, being perfectly calm and composed, yet displaying no unseemly indifference to the awful fate which awaited them. Syddal alone is said have been observed to tremble when the halter was being placed around his neck, though he endeavoured to conceal his agitation from the spectators by taking a pinch of snuff. While the executioner was pinioning his arms, he lifted up his eyes, exclaiming, "O Lord, help me!"

Every preparation having been made, the executioner drew the cap of each from their pockets, and, having drawn it over their eyes, the rope was adjusted around their necks, and they were almost immediately turned off. After having hung about three minutes, Colonel Townly, who still exhibited signs of life, was the first who was cut down, and, having been stripped of his clothes, was laid on the block, and his head severed from his body. The executioner then extracted his heart and entrails, which he threw into the fire; and in this manner, one by one, proceeded to the disgusting task of beheading and disembowelling the bodies of the remaining eight. When the heart of the

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last, which was that of James Dawson, was thrown into the fire, the executioner cried out, in a loud tone, "God save King George!" to which a part of the assembled multitude are said to have responded with a loud shout. Generally speaking, however, the fate of these gallant gentlemen excited a deserved and laudable commiseration; and the same mob, who had hooted and derided them as they passed to their trials, witnessed their closing scenes at least with decent sympathy, if not with marks of positive admiration. As soon as the horrible ceremony was entirely completed, the bodies of the sufferers were carried back to the prison from whence they came. Three days afterward, the heads of Townly and Fletcher were exposed on Temple Bar, while those of Deacon, Berwick, Chadwick, and Syddal were placed in spirits, in order to be affixed on conspicuous places at Manchester and Carlisle.

The name of James Dawson (who, it will be remembered, was the last of the unhappy sufferers on whom the executioner performed his barbarous rites) may, perhaps, recall to the reader an affecting incident connected with his tragical fate. He was a cadet of a respectable family in Lancashire; had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; and had recently formed an attachment for a young lady, with a handsome fortune, and of a good family like himself. His passion was returned with more than common ardour, and

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had he been either acquitted at his trial, or had the royal clemency been extended to him, the day of his release from prison was to have been the day of his nuptials. When at length his fate was decided upon, neither the arguments nor entreaties of her relatives and friends could dissuade the young maiden, who was the unhappy object of his affections, from being a witness of the execution of her betrothed. Accordingly, attended by a female friend, and by a gentleman who was nearly related to her, she entered a hackney-coach, and followed slowly in the wake of the sledge which was conveying to a terrible and ignominious death the object of her early and most passionate devotion. Contrary to the natural forebodings of her friends, she beheld, without any extravagant demonstrations of poignant grief, the contortions of her lover's suspended body, the mangling of his bloody remains, and the committal of that heart to the flames which she knew had beat so tenderly for her. But when all was over, and when she was no more supported by the excitement of witnessing the dreadful scene, she threw herself back in the coach, and, exclaiming, "My dear, I follow thee! — I follow thee! Sweet Jesus, receive both our souls together," she fell upon the neck of her companion, and expired almost as the last word escaped from her mouth. This affecting incident was afterward made by Shenstone the subject of a mournful and well-known ballad; but

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the facts were too painful, and too real, for any poetry to do them justice:

"She follow'd him, prepared to view
The terrible behests of law;
And the last scene of all his woes,
With calm and steadfast eyes she saw.
Distorted was that blooming face
Which she had fondly loved so long,
And stifled was that tuneful breath
Which in her praise had sweetly sung.

"Ah! sever'd was that beauteous neck,
Round which her arms had fondly closed,
And mangled was that beauteous breast,
On which her lovesick head reposed;
And ravish'd was that constant heart,
She did to every heart prefer;
For though it could its king forget,
'Twas true and loyal still to her.

"Amid those unrelenting flames,
She bore this constant heart to see;
And when 'twas moulder'd into dust,
'Yet, yet,' she cried, 'I follow thee!'

. . . . . .

"The dismal scene was o'er and past,
The lover's mournful hearse retired;
The maid drew back her languid head,
And, sighing forth his name, expired.
Though justice ever must prevail,
The tear my Kitty sheds is due;
For seldom shall she hear a tale
So sad, so tender, yet so true."

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On the 22d of August following, three of the Scottish officers who were captured at Carlisle — namely, James Nicholson, Walter Ogilvie, and Donald Macdonald — were also executed on Kennington Common. They presented a gallant appearance on the scaffold in their Highland costume. Having spent about an hour in prayer, they underwent their doom subjected to the same circumstances of horror which had attended the execution of the officers of the Manchester regiment, with the single exception that the government relaxed a portion of their brutality, by allowing the bodies to remain suspended fifteen minutes instead of three, before they were mangled and disembowelled.

Again, on the 28th of November, five more gallant gentlemen — namely, John Hamilton, who had been Governor of Carlisle, and who had signed its capitulation; Alexander Leith, an old and infirm man; Sir John Wedderburn, Bart., who had acted as receiver of the excise duties exacted by the insurgents; Andrew Wood, a fine and chivalrous boy; and James Bradshaw — underwent the last sentence of the law on Kennington Common. It is a horrible fact that the first notification which they had that their doom was positively fixed was as late as nine o'clock on the morning of the day on which they suffered. At that hour the doors of their apartments were unlocked by the underkeepers, and they received the awful announce-

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ment that the sheriffs were approaching to attend them to the place of execution. On the scaffold they all appeared resigned and undaunted, offering up their prayers for King James the Third with their latest breath. After death their bodies were cut down and mangled, and their entrails thrown into the fire, as in other cases.

At Carlisle, York, and other places, the slaughter of the unfortunate Jacobites was even more terrific. There were at one period huddled together in the gaols of Carlisle alone as many as 385 prisoners; and as it might have been both difficult and inconvenient to bring so many individuals to trial, it was determined to select only a certain number of those who had played the most prominent part during the insurrection. Accordingly, as many as 119 persons were selected for trial, the great mass of the remainder being allowed the humane option of drawing lots, one in twenty to be tried, and the rest to be transported.

The number of persons who were eventually brought to the bar at Carlisle was 133. Fortunately, however, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty against forty-eight only, of whom eleven were recommended to mercy. Of the whole number, thirty were ordered for execution, of whom twenty-two underwent the last sentence of the law, — namely, nine at Carlisle, six at Brampton, and seven at Penrith. The list of those who suffered at Carlisle contains the names of five persons

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of some note. These were Thomas Coppock, styled "the titular Bishop of Carlisle;"[1] Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, the chief of his name; Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, who had entertained Charles on his first landing in the Highlands; Donald Macdonald of Tiendrish, whom we have seen more than once playing a conspicuous part in the foregoing history; and John Macnaughton, who is reported, though it is believed erroneously, to have been the person at whose hands the lamented Colonel Gardiner received his death-blow at Preston Pans.

In addition to the slaughters at Carlisle, Brampton, and Penrith, seventy persons received sentence of death at York, of whom twenty-two were executed; and on the 15th of November eleven more

[1] Coppock was a young student of theology of libertine habits, who, according to a popular but absurd rumour, had been made Bishop of Carlisle by Charles, on his visit to that city. During his imprisonment in Carlisle Castle, he very near succeeded in effecting his escape by the following ingenious means. "Bishop Coppock, with six more rebel prisoners in the castle, had sawed off their irons by an instrument prepared by a new method. They laid a silk handkerchief single over the mouth of a drinking-glass, and tied it hard at the bottom, then struck the edge of a case-knife on the brim of the glass (thus covered to prevent noise) till it became a saw. With such knives they cut their irons, and, when the teeth were blunt, they had recourse to the glass to renew it. A knife will not cut a handkerchief when struck upon it in this manner." It is recorded of Coppock that, seeing some of his companions apparently giving way to despondency, "Cheer up!" he said, "we shall not be tried by a Cumberland jury in the next world."

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suffered at Carlisle. No mercy was shown them by their enemies even in death, and they all underwent the doom of the law, with all those circumstances of horror and barbarity which had attended the earlier executions on Kennington Common. The whole of these brave but ill-fated men are said to have faced death with an undaunted firmness which excited the wonder and sympathy of the spectators. "These unfortunate sufferers," says Sir Walter Scott, "were of different ages, rank, and habits, both of body and mind; they agreed, however, in their behaviour upon the scaffold. They prayed for the exiled family, expressed their devotion to the cause in which they died, and particularly their admiration of the princely leader whom they had followed, till their attachment conducted them to this dreadful fate. It may be justly questioned whether the lives of these men, supposing every one of them to have been an apostle of Jacobitism, could have done so much to prolong their doctrines, as the horror and loathing inspired by so many bloody punishments."

To conclude: in calling to mind the barbarities which disgraced the last act of the fatal tragedy of 1745–56, we must not merely take into account the immolation of the many true and brave men who fell, whether by the axe or by the rope. Their fate, indeed, constitutes but a single consideration in that terrible system of vengeance and inhumanity which was pursued by the ruling powers toward

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the conquered party. In order to complete the painful picture, we must also call to mind the sweeping devastation of the Highland districts after the battle of Culloden, the vast confiscation of property, the consequent ruin of whole families, the tears of the widow and the orphan, the number of gallant gentlemen who were condemned to poverty and exile in foreign lands, and, lastly, the fate of that numerous herd of faithful and hardy clansmen, who were swept from their own free homes in their native Highlands, to work out a life of slavery in the far plantations, the victims of fever, of misery, and death.

Such were the effects of that ruthless policy, and such were the retributive horrors, which were inflicted by the Duke of Cumberland, his instigators, and his tools, on a people who, though they may have acted from a false construction of what was demanded of them as citizens and men, yet whose only crime was that of sacrificing their lives and fortunes in support of the principles which had been instilled into them from their infancy, and in a glorious defence of one whom they conscientiously believed to be their rightful and legitimate prince.

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CHAPTER VII.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION.

ROBERT CRAIGIE, ESQ., of Glendoick, to whom the greater number of the following letters were addressed, was a younger son of Lawrence Craigie, Esq., of Kilgraston, by Catherine, daughter of William Colville, brother of Robert, second Lord Colville of Ochiltree. He became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in January, 1710, and, conquering a strong repugnance which he felt toward the study of the law, applied himself with great assiduity to his profession. He married Barbara, heiress of Stewart of Cary, by whom he left three sons and two daughters. About the year 1726, his successful practice at the bar enabled him to purchase the estate of Glendoick, in the Carse of Gowrie. He held the high office of lord advocate from 1742 to 1746, and that of president of the court of session from 1754 to his death, in 1760.

"Mr. Craigie," says Tytler, in his "Life of Lord Kames," "united to a very profound knowledge of

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the law, and an understanding peculiarly turned to the unfolding of the systematic intricacies of the feudal doctrines, the most persevering industry and intense application to business, which, introducing him to notice in some remarkable causes where those talents were peculiarly requisite, were the foundation of a very extensive practice at the bar. His rise to eminence, however, was slow, as he had none of the exterior accomplishments that attract attention, and, though an acute and able reasoner, his manner of pleading was dry, prolix, and deficient both in grace and energy. In the earlier part of his life he had for several years given private lectures in his chambers to students of the law before he had any considerable employment as a barrister; but his industry, and the gradually prevailing opinion of his deep acquaintance with jurisprudence, overcame at length every obstacle; and he rose to the first rank among the counsel who were his contemporaries."

The originals of the following letters are preserved in the library at Glendoick. The collection was formerly far more voluminous, but, unfortunately, from feelings of a laudable but mistaken delicacy, one of the descendants of the lord advocate (probably the late Lord Craigie) — dreading lest certain families, who had been concerned in the rising of 1745, might become implicated by the entire collection seeing the light — thought proper to commit perhaps not the least interesting

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portion of it to the flames. Those letters and documents, however, which still remain, though far from comprising an uninterrupted series of correspondence, will nevertheless be found highly valuable and interesting, from the insight which they give into the measures adopted for the suppression of the rebellion, and the light which they throw on the events of a stirring and memorable period.

[By the kindness of William Bell, Esq., of Edinburgh, the lineal descendant of Lord President Craigie, I am enabled to lay these documents before the reader.]

The Marquis of Tweeddale[1] *to the Lord Advocate.*

WHITEHALL, 13th June, 1745.

MY LORD:—I have received yours of the 6th of June by the post. I did expect that the noise which would naturally arise on Sir H. M'Lean, etc., being taken up, would be sufficient advertisement to prevent the appointment at Linlithgow from taking place. The messenger that I despatched on Tuesday night, will, I hope, have delivered my packet long before this reaches you, and, in consequence of the orders therein contained, the said three prisoners will be brought here safely. I hope you will not neglect to send

[1] Secretary of State for Scotland, and the last person who held that office.

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me copies of the examinations you have taken, and it will also be of use to me that you make a memorandum of what observations occur to you on the said examinations. I have given proper directions to have the three letters deciphered, but it is not impossible but you may have found out by this time who "Fergus" and "Barclay" are.

I am glad to find by yours that Mr. Guest has still hopes of making some discoveries by means of Mr. Drummond and Lieutenant Campbell of the Highland regiment. I shall next week send down to General Cope leave of absence for the said lieutenant for two months. The depositions sent you by the messenger will give you no further light into this affair. I forgot to tell you that two of the deserters, who are able to give the best information, are ordered over here, and will be ready to give their evidence in this matter.

I am very sensible that all these things will occasion you a great deal of trouble, at a time when for the most part you are pretty well employed; but as this is a matter of the highest consequence to the peace and quiet of his Majesty's government, and has a tendency of a much more dangerous nature than merely recruiting the French army (as the Scotch regiments in France must in time become a nursery for propagating disaffection, and for training up officers for the worst purposes), I persuade myself your zeal for his Majesty's service and the good of your coun-

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try will not allow you to grudge any pains you can take to give a check to this evil in the beginning; and in such cases a little severity now used may save numbers of poor innocent people from being deluded. I am, with great regard, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. You will communicate this to Sir John Cope and the solicitor, who, I doubt not, will most zealously concur with you in everything that may be proper at this time. I need not caution any of you that what is contained in the several informations, etc., sent down, should be mentioned only to such whose secrecy and zeal for his Majesty's service can be relied on. In March last I recommended to the solicitor that application should be made to the commissioners of the customs, and other officers of the several ports, to have an eye on what passengers go abroad; and if there was reason to suspect they were going to France, or were engaged in the French service, that then they should make application to the sheriff, justice of peace, or principal magistrate of the place, for a warrant to stop and detain them till further inquiry should be made concerning them. The like application should be now renewed, and the commissioners should write privately to the several collectors, etc., to give punctual obedience to such orders.

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The Lord Advocate to Captain Campbell of Inveraw.

"EDINBURGH, [24th June, 1745].

SIR: — I have certain informations that Donald Cameron, younger, of Lochiel; James Graham, *alias* M'Gregor, of Glengyle; Alexander Macdonald, younger, of Glengarry, and the captain of Clanranald are officers in the French service, and that they are now in Scotland raising recruits; that it is thought to be of great importance to the peace and safety of the government that a check should be put to this practice, by securing the persons concerned; and that you and the other gentlemen in the new-raised Highland companies are able to discover these gentlemen and secure them; and that neither the other military officers in this country, nor the civil officers, are able to perform that service.

I have therefore addressed the warrants enclosed to you, and if you can be so lucky as to be able effectually to execute them, I dare adventure to assure you it will be looked upon as acceptable service by his Majesty and his servants; and I must own, I think it will in the event be found to be an act of real benefit to the gentlemen themselves, as it will prevent their going on in an affair which I believe will in the end be ruinous to them and their families. At the same time, I am sensible of the difficulties of the undertaking.

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I think there is no prospect of apprehending them by open force, and therefore I must particularly recommend secrecy to you, that they may not know that it is intended they should be secured; and I can have no doubt but that you will be cautious in the choice of the persons you employ to find out their haunts, and in the methods you take to come at them. However, as I am fully satisfied of your zeal for his Majesty's service, I think the thing is not impracticable to gentlemen of your knowledge of, and interest in, the Highlands, — since now Sir John Cope will recommend this service to you in the strongest manner, and will give directions to the other military officers in your bounds, to give you all necessary assistance that you shall desire from time to time.

I am, sir, etc.

Warrant for the Arrest of James Graham, alias MacGregor, of Glengyle.

(By Robert Craigie, Esq., His Majesty's Advocate of Scotland.)

Whereas I am informed that James Graham, *alias* MacGregor, of Glengyle, is guilty of treasonable practices, and that he is enlisting men and raising recruits for the French service in the Highlands of Scotland — These are authorising you to search for, seize, and secure the person of the said James Graham, *alias* MacGregor, and the

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persons enlisted by him, and to deliver him or them to a constable, or other officer of the peace, and to send him or them respectively to Edinburgh, under a sure guard, to be examined, and to be otherwise proceeded against according to law.

Given under my hand and seal at Edinburgh.

To Duncan Campbell, of Inveraw, Captain in Lord John Murray's Regiment.
To Sir Patrick Murray, of Ochtertyne, Captain in ditto.
To McIntosh, of McIntosh, Captain in ditto.

[A copy of a warrant follows against Alexander MacDonell, younger, of Glengarry, dated 24th June, 1745.]

Captain Campbell, of Inveraw, to the Lord Advocate.

INVERARY, 26th June, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have this morning received your letter and warrants for securing the persons of Lochiel, Glengarry, Clanranald, and Glengyle, as officers in the French service, and raising recruits in Scotland for that service; and, as I take it to be absolutely necessary for that purpose that the gentlemen commanding the other two Highland companies, and I, should meet in the first place and concert the most secret and prudent schemes,

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I have, upon receipt of letters, run expresses to them, in order to come to the most convenient place for a speedy meeting, in a manner that I think can give no suspicion of our design.

Your lordship observes, very justly, that we are not to expect success by open force. Secrecy and stratagems we must only have recourse to; and I am hopeful we may succeed by that, so as to secure some of them, and perhaps all. I beg leave to observe to your lordship, that some of the warrants are to be executed with greater certainty, and much less difficulty, than others, particularly Glengyle. Would it be right to secure him, or any one of them, as opportunities will offer, without regard to the danger of alarming the rest? Or should we wait for the execution of some scheme, by which they may be all attacked as near the same time as possible? — though, indeed, Clanranald's situation, if he keeps in his own country, makes it very difficult as to him. In this I shall be glad to have your lordship's advice; and as my meeting with M'Intosh and Sir Patrick Murray must be in the braes of Perthsire, you will please direct by Castle Menzies, where I purpose to be on Saturday next, on my way to meet them, and where notice will be had where to find me.

I can assure you, my lord, for myself, that I shall use all endeavours, with the utmost diligence and application, to have all the warrants effectually

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put in execution, and I make no doubt the other gentlemen employed will do the same.

I am, my lord, etc.,

DUN. CAMPBELL.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, June 27, 1745.

MY LORD:—I am surprised at what you acquaint me, of Sir John Cope having despatched Lieutenant Campbell for Flanders, since I acquainted him myself, here at London, upon what account he was detained in Scotland, and that it is evident, from what passed with Mr. Guest, that Mr. Drummond, who was along with the lieutenant, was not ignorant of some practices going on in Scotland.

The information I sent down to the solicitor in the winter mentions M'Kenzie, master of the "M'Kenzie" of Alloa, having brought to Holland Mr. Drummond, with several others, who went immediately to France; and it is not improbable this is the same Mr. Drummond, or one nearly related to him. I shall, however, take no notice of this till I hear from Sir John Cope himself, who probably will take notice of it when he answers my letter, by which I inform him the lords justices having signed leave of absence to the said lieutenant, and shall probably write a pretty smart letter if he does not give good reasons for what he has done.

You know very well I can have no great confi-

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dence as to anything relating to my interest in the lord justice clerk, and therefore am much of your opinion he is not to be trusted with secrets, but only to be employed as it shall be thought necessary for his Majesty's service. I am sure Armistown and the solicitor may see many reasons why some correspondence should be kept up with him in such terms as the present.

I think Sir John Inglis should be spoken to, to give more than usual attention to what letters come to the post-house at Edinburgh. If he wants such a warrant as he had during the appearances of the last invasion, he shall have it. A thought has come into my head, which probably, if put into execution, might procure us better intelligence than we have ever yet had of what may be passing in the North: I mean, by the clergy. If Mr. Wallace would fix a correspondence with particular ministers in the several most disaffected countries, we might happen to learn more exactly when any strangers come amongst them. I wish you would hint this to Mr. Wallace, and see if he has any objection to it; but let this be spoke of to no other person excepting the solicitor.

Complaints being made of great abuse occasioned by the passes given to the merchants for bringing home their effects from France, during the six months allowed by treaty, that several of these passes are still made use of, you will probably see in the next *Gazette* an advertisement,

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declaring them to be no longer of any force. We have heard as yet nothing material from abroad, but are expecting news every mail. You will see in the newspapers an account of Lord George Graham's success, which I am very glad of.

I am, with great truth,
Your most faithful, humble servant,
TWEEDDALE.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 3d July, 1745.

MY LORD: — The substance of the intelligence about the young Pretender has got into the printed papers, but it does not greatly alarm those not concerned in the government; however, it is to be wished that all possible care be taken to get intelligence in Scotland, in doing of which all his Majesty's servants will heartily concur.

There are reports that the French have a considerable squadron at Brest, but we do not hear of any troops on their western coast, without which no invasion can be effected. It is said there are some troops gathered on the coast of Gallicia, and that there are two or three Spanish men-of-war at Ferrol, which, it is presumed, are intended to convey them somewhere into the king's dominions. From all that has yet appeared, I think there is no danger, but some people are grievously alarmed.

Could France and Spain have foreseen the sit-

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uation this nation is in at this moment, they could never have had a more favourable time for executing their projects and disturbing the peace of this country. Ostend is now besieged; we had the good fortune to dismount one battery of the French, but it is since repaired, and I hear that the entry to the harbour is exposed to the fire of a battery they have raised on the beach, at a little distance from the town. Our army remains in the old encampment. I fear the cunning of the French; if they should slip between them and Antwerp, it may be of the worse consequence, for retreat is our only safety.

You had formally transmitted to you an examination of John Macleod, taken before Charles Stuart and Captain Beevor, commander of the *Fox* man-of-war. As this ship convoys the trade to Leith, the lords of the admiralty have, at my Lord Tweeddale's request, ordered Captain Beevor to acquaint you when he arrives, and to send Macleod on shore to be examined by you. My lord thinks you should take his affidavit, which will be a sufficient ground for committing any of the persons he names. I am, etc.,

ANDREW MITCHELL.

Sir Patrick Murray to the Lord Advocate.

OCHTERTYRE, 11th July, 1745.

SIR: — Monday last, Captain Campbell, of Inveraw, wrote to Sir John Cope what steps we

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three captains had taken toward putting in execution the warrants you sent us some time ago. I wrote to General Guest last week, in which letter I told him that I had laid a scheme, and was in hopes of getting one of the four persons who are suspected. Whether it will succeed or not I cannot tell, but I expect this week to know its fate. If I am so lucky as to get the man, I shall bring him directly to you at Edinburgh.

I have been informing myself about young Glengarry, who has not been in the Highlands for some weeks past; and I am very credibly informed that he is just now at Traguegar, or in the neighbourhood. In most things young Glengarry is advised and directed by Baron Kennedy; and if he keeps in the South, I dare say you will fall upon a way to get hold of him. If he comes North, we will try and have him, too, I think.

I am, sir, etc., PAT. MURRAY.

Captain Campbell, of Inveraw, to the Lord Advocate.

INVERAW, 15th July, 1745.

MY LORD:—Your lordship's letter of the 13th instant, with the warrant and Sir John Cope's order and letter, I received this morning, just as I was setting out for Lochaber after other game. All I can do in the meantime is to promise my utmost endeavours to execute your last warrant, and shall lose no time in going about it.

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What I think at present of doing is to march my company to Crief, as if ordered by Sir John Cope to wait a review; and as we are expected there soon for that purpose, this, I believe, can give no kind of suspicion. Your lordship knows that the person you want is close by Crief, and, as this is the best blind I can at present think of, if I try it I hope Sir John Cope will excuse my changing quarters without orders; for though that place is the headquarters of Sir Patrick Murray's company, as your lordship and Sir John Cope seem to trust me solely with the secret and execution of this warrant, I choose rather to have my own company with me than call for the assistance of any other, without a greater force be necessary.

I was in that country last week, contriving the execution of your first commands, when it was an easy matter to make this effectual, and, without some unlucky accident give alarm, I hope it will be still so. I shall inform your lordship from time to time of any extraordinaries, and am, with great esteem, etc.,

DUN. CAMPBELL.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 30th July, 1745.

MY LORD: — It is now so late that my lord had time to write no more. As there are copies of

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the intelligence from Paris transmitted to your lordship, I need make no remarks upon it; only you will agree with me that it will be proper that these papers should be communicated to very few, because to be alarmed upon such grounds discovers a weakness, which ought, for the sake of government, to be concealed. I shall say no more on this head, as your lordship remembers the last invasion, — in itself, indeed, more formidable than this, — but rendered dangerous only from our fears and pusillanimity.

The character of M. Van Hoey, the Dutch minister at Paris, must be known to your lordship. He has long been considered as a slave to France, gained partly by money, but more by flattery, for he is a vain, weak, mean man, as his whole transactions at that court have shown; and if your lordship desires further proof of his capacity, read his letters published about three years ago, which, to have written, would disgrace even an old story-telling woman. At the same time I am sensible that no intelligence of this sort ought to be despised, as it is so much the interest of France to give a diversion at home, and I have no doubt that everything will be done that is proper for his Majesty's service; but I cannot bear to think that, by the means of a false rumour or a foolish and ill-concerted project, it should be in the power of France to make this nation show symptoms of fear, without which there can be no alarm.

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This morning a messenger arrived from Ostend, before which place the French began to appear. I do not know that it is yet invested, which I believe cannot be done so quickly, as the country about is overflowed. The fortifications, guns, etc., are in very bad order, but the place is open by sea, and may be constantly supplied from hence or from Holland.

General Chandos, the governor, is now in the town. He is reckoned a good officer, and, if he is properly supported, I hope will do his duty. The troops, stores, etc., sent from hence arrived last Saturday. It is thought our army will extend nearer Antwerp; but as the French have sent a large detachment to Ostend, besides the men they have in garrison in the towns lately taken, I think they cannot be much superior to us in number, and if they are not, we are sure they will not attack. I have hardly time to read this over, so you will excuse every blunder in it from

Yours sincerely, A. M.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 1st August, 1745.

MY LORD:—I have received yours of July the 25th. I am sorry at the disappointment you have met with in relation to the person commonly called Duke of Perth, but there is no help for such acci-

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dents, and you cannot be blamed for them. I have written to Sir John Cope of this matter, and have given him orders to inquire strictly into the manner how this person escaped from Captain Campbell.

We have received several other intelligences of the same nature with those I transmitted to you by express. All of them positively affirm that the Pretender's son had sailed from Nantz on the 15th of last month, N. S., and that he is landed in Scotland, and mention the Isle of Mull as the place where he actually is. You will, therefore, as I recommended in my last, make the strictest inquiry into this matter. I own I think, if he is in Scotland, the Isle of Uist would be a likelier place for him to land in than the Isle of Mull; and, if he is in any other part of Scotland, I think it impossible that he should remain long there without some of his Majesty's servants receiving intelligence of him, either from the officers employed in recruiting, or from those belonging to the revenue in those parts.

We do not hear that as yet there are any forces sent from France; but it is said that in case he gathers a number of men together, and makes some good head, he will then be effectually supported from thence.

Orders are given in the meantime for immediately equipping a strong squadron of men-of-war. I think you should now lose no time in inquiring

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after James Drummond, since the more I think of that matter the more I am convinced he knew something of these affairs; and, as I hinted formerly, if he does not discover willingly what he knows, he should be apprehended and obliged to do it.

I herewith send you down some other papers transmitted from Flanders, relating to the enlisters for Drummond's regiment, and in case you find any mentioned in these last which were not in the former, you will issue the proper warrants for apprehending them in case they can be discovered. There is one Captain Stuart, whom I wish particularly could be seized. I had almost forgot to take notice to you that I don't find in Captain Campbell's letter to Sir John Cope that he takes the least notice of his having searched in order to his finding any letters or papers, and, therefore, particular care should be taken that, in all warrants for apprehending suspected persons, orders should be given for searching for papers, which, if found upon them, may be of great consequence.

There is a proclamation ordered to be issued, offering a reward of £30,000 to any one who shall apprehend the Pretender's son, in case he is landed in Scotland, or should attempt to land.

I am, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

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Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 1st August, 1745.

MY LORD: — I wrote to your lordship by the express of last Tuesday night, and, though it was then very late, I could not help expressing my sentiments of an affair which I still think is treated with too much seriousness. It is now said that the person mentioned in the informations is landed in the Isle of Mull. Is it possible that this can have happened, and none of his Majesty's servants in Scotland have the least notice of it? Can the now proprietor of that island be ignorant of an event of this consequence, or would he conceal it if it were known to him? It is more probable that all this story is an invention of the French, in order to divert the naval force of this kingdom from being employed against them, and, by intimidating with false alarms of domestic troubles, to prevent the right use of the unfortunate army in Flanders.

This is my opinion; but, admitting that the informations, of which you have copies, were well founded, it is there averred that he sailed on the 15th N. S. July, in the *Elizabeth*, attended by a small sloop; and we find that a French ship of sixty-four guns, believed to be the *Elizabeth*, together with a sloop, were roundly mauled by his Majesty's ship, the *Lion*, on the 9th of July, old style, that is, the 20th of July, N. S., and he was

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on board the *Elizabeth*. I dare say he is still in France. Read the articles from the admiralty office in the *Gazette* of the 23d of July. I hear of no news from Ostend. I hope our army will be able to remain where they are in safety, as so great a part of the enemy's forces are employed elsewhere.

I am, most sincerely yours, A. M.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 6th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — The accounts you will find in the papers of prizes taken by two privateers, the value of which is estimated at £80,000, is true, and a convoy is ordered for bringing them to England. It is probable that Captain Barnet has likewise taken one French man-of-war and two Chinese ships of that nation valued at £20,000. There are reports of some Manilla ships being taken by two other privateers, but I do not choose to believe everything of this kind that is at present reported. The accounts from Ostend are not favourable, and, unless it be strongly reinforced from time to time, it cannot hold out, but this can be done only from the army in Flanders.

I am yours, etc., A. M.

Governor Campbell to Sir John Cope.

FORT WILLIAM, 7th August, 1745.

SIR: — I am sorry I have reason to send you an express sooner than I expected. A few hours

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since I had intelligence that in the country of Moidart, — inhabited by the Macdonalds, all Roman Catholics, — came in ten or twelve transports, with a ship of force, all French; and on board of them, they say, there are two thousand men who are now landed. The country gentlemen here supply them with all manner of fresh provisions. Unhappy for us in this place if we are attacked; the party that was in Sutherland not being returned, and the inner gate, which was pulled down some time ago, not yet rebuilt; but all hands are now busy at work to make it up.

This day I shall send to the country of Moidart to know the certainty of what is told me; and when he returns will run you another express.

I am, sir, etc.,

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

P. S. — The truth of this I cannot affirm, as the person that told me saw neither the ships nor people, but was informed of it by a relation of his, who said he was in company with them.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

(Extract.)

WHITEHALL, 6th August [1745].

We have been chiefly taken up this day in reading intelligences received about the Pretender's son. They all amount to pretty much what was transmitted to you formerly. Though I would

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not say anything to prevent his Majesty's servants taking all the precautions in their power, yet I own, in my own private opinion, you will not receive this visit this summer.

I am really vexed at your being detained so long in Edinburgh, when I know you must be wishing to go to the country; but you must see the necessity of it for some time, and therefore I hope you will not grudge it much, since your stay is so much for the service of your king, country, and friends.

I know nothing particular from Germany to write to you. Our army in Flanders continues near Brussels. Ostend is besieged, and I am afraid, by the last accounts, cannot hold out long. You will see in the newspapers of a rich prize being taken by two privateers. It is certainly the richest prize that has been taken this year. Whatever our landmen do, the seafaring people grow rich. Adieu! Believe me

Sincerely yours, TWEEDDALE.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 10th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — My lord marquis has gone to the country, but will be in town next Monday. He desired me to acquaint you that there is no more intelligence about the Pretender's son.

Yesterday we had news from Hanover that his Majesty intends to return to Britain forthwith,

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and orders are already given for the yachts to be in readiness. It is expected they will sail for Holland by the beginning of next week. We have no other news but what you will find in the *Gazette* of this night.

I am, etc., ANDREW MITCHELL.

Captain Campbell, of Inveraw, to the Lord Advocate.

CALLANDER, 10th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — The enclosed note came to me this day, from a man I used to correspond with. I have written to the other captains and officers of our regiment, according to your Excellency's orders, and shall lay myself out all I can for information, as you direct.

I am, with great respect, etc.,
DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

P. S. — Since writing I have received my orders for marching to Inverary. Prince Charles, the chevalier's son, is landed, and General M'Donald is with him. What company they have is yet uncertain, but it is sure they will have a good number very soon.

Lord Fortrose to the Lord Advocate.

BRUAN CASTLE, 10th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — I received your lordship's of the 5th this morning, and though I have for several

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days heard a rumour of an intended invasion, yet, as I never believed it, I was at no pains to get intelligence. However, upon receipt of yours, I have directly sent off an express to Alexander Campbell, my factor in Kintail, to acquaint me if there are any unusual meetings or commotions in the neighbouring parts. As soon as I hear any material news, I shall acquaint you per express, as none has his Majesty's and royal family's interest more at heart than, my lord,

Yours, etc., FORTROSE.

Captain Campbell, of Inveraw, to the Lord Advocate.

CALLANDER, 10th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — Your letter and warrant of the 6th instant came to hand; I was, however, in the braes of Monteith, upon a double duty, in order to attack Glenbuckie's house, and other suspected places in that country, for the Duke of Perth, which I accordingly did this morning before daylight; for I found neither the one nor the other. To my great surprise, I was told that Glenbuckie was apprised of a warrant being out against him, — not only told it by his lady, but by the minister of Aberfoile, before I received your letter.

I made the search, as for the duke; and as other places were attacked at the same time, it will take off the suspicion of my having this war-

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rant, and nobody knows of it from me but my lieutenant, so that I believe there will be a better chance of executing it some little time after this, when the alarm is partly over.

I am satisfied the Duke of Perth is in this country, if he has not left it very lately; but it is so much his own that every man in it is a spy upon us; so that while he is so much upon his guard, there is no great chance of surprising him. I have done all in my power by night and day, to little purpose, and have fatigued my company to a great degree; and I do assure your lordship I have myself paid sufficiently in body and mind for my misfortune in the duke's unlucky escape; but I hope for amends.

I was not a little surprised to find that gentleman (whom you mentioned would give me a guide to Glenbuckie's) fully instructed in all the warrants I knew of, and some more. I will not pretend to direct your lordship in your knowledge of men, but if that man acts the part with you in his discoveries that I am sensible he has done with me as to the Duke of Perth, you will find little faith in him, and I am not free of suspicion of his discovering the warrant I went last about, and as likely he may others. Whatever information your lordship gets from him, I humbly beg leave to advise he should get none of your secrets, and am, with great esteem, etc.

DUN. CAMPBELL.

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P. S. — Since writing the above I have received Sir John Cope's orders to march my company to Inverary. In that event, I can be of no use as to the last warrants. The other two companies may.

The Duke of Argyll to the Lord Advocate.

ROSNEATH, August 10, 1745.

MY LORD: — I yesterday received your letter without date, but I take it to be of the 7th. The news from the Highlands vary strangely, for having waited till this morning for my letters from Argyllshire, I find it now believed that a ship landed men at Uist, an island of the Clanranald family.

Young Lochiel dined last week at Fort William with the officers there, and does not seem to conceal himself at all. I intend to go to Inverary next week, if these rumours blow over. If the matter grows serious, I shall not be in safety there. I am, my lord,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ARGYLL.

The Duke of Gordon to the Lord Advocate.

HADDO HOUSE, 11th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have this moment received your letter, which was sent to me by express from my wife to this place.

The express that you sent, I find, has been long detained on the road, which was occasioned from

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the excessive rains, which made the rivers impassable. I thought it was my duty to write to your lordship as soon as it was in my power, and to assure you that I shall communicate to you all the intelligence that I can have from that part of the Highlands wherein I am concerned, and shall act upon this occasion as I have done all along, in being a faithful subject to his Majesty, and doing my utmost endeavours to oppose the impending efforts of all enemies to this kingdom.

The Earl of Aberdeen, to whom I have communicated the contents of your letter, desires to join with me in his compliments to your lordship, and begs leave to let you know that the people in this country are now quite ignorant of this report, and are seemingly well-affected to his present Majesty and government. I hope, in the first letter I have the pleasure to write you, to inform your lordship that the Highlanders in my interest are in the same situation.

I am, my lord, etc., GORDON.

P. S. — That this letter might come the sooner to your hands, I have sent one of my own servants express along with it.

The Earl of Sutherland to the Lord Advocate.

DUNROBIN, 11th August, [1745].

MY LORD: — Your favour is now before me, by which you inform me that the lords justices had

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intelligence that a report was current at Paris that the Pretender's eldest son had embarked with an intention to land in Scotland, where he expected to be joined by the Highlanders.

This intelligence I have many reasons to apprehend is but too well founded. I have had private intelligence to the same purpose within these two days, and have sent to acquaint the Duke of Argyll of it; and I have several reasons to think that the Pretender's son expects to be joined by too many in the Lowlands as well as in the Highlands, and that a general insurrection is designed of the disaffected party both South and North. It happens greatly amiss, in such an emergency, that his Majesty's firmest friends in the Highlands are destitute of arms and ammunition for their own defence and his Majesty's service, when his most inveterate enemies are too well provided, and threaten, as I am certainly informed, in less than a fortnight's time, to do all the mischief that their malice, armed with fire and sword, can effect, to such of their neighbours as are most attached to his Majesty's person and government.

I and Lord Reay, with our vassals, could raise eighteen hundred or two thousand men, and with these could effectually bridle all the public enemies north of us, and do considerable service also against the more numerous enemies on the other hand of us. But what can we do without arms or ammunition? I made early application to Sir

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John Cope for a proper supply, on the surmises we had of a French invasion near two years ago; but my applications have unhappily been neglected, till now there is danger that a supply will come too late. I am causing to be gathered in and brushed up all the arms in this country, which, between me and Lord Reay, I doubt will not make above two hundred stand, and we shall need at least sixteen hundred more of swords and guns, with proportional ammunition.

I pray, by all the regard you and others of his Majesty's ministers have for his Majesty's service and interest, that you will instantly order a sloop here with arms and ammunition as above, to be delivered to me on my receipt. It will be further necessary, my lord, that a proper person have a commission directly sent to him, to act as lord-lieutenant of the Northern shires. If I am honoured with that commission, I shall take the utmost care to fulfil it with equal zeal and fidelity, as my grandfather did in the time of the former rebellion. You have enclosed, my lord, a true copy of a contract of mutual friendship I entered into with Lord Reay, in prospect of the invasion and rebellion that seems to be on the point of breaking out.

I again entreat, in the most earnest manner, that a proper supply may be sent me of arms and ammunition, as above, without any loss of time. If that supply does not come within

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twenty days, at farthest, it may cost his Majesty abundance of men and money to recover the loss his interest may sustain in the North, which the supply mentioned, coming timeously, might enable me with Lord Reay's assistance to prevent. I shall take care, from time to time, to communicate to you and others of his Majesty's servants any motions that may be in the Highlands at this juncture, and take proper measures to get the best intelligence I can for that purpose.

I am, with great respect, etc.,

SUTHERLAND.

P. S. — I have been lately in a bad state of health, but the discoveries I had of danger to the public tranquillity have roused my spirits and chased away my illness, so that I hope to be in a condition directly to act with vigour and resolution in his Majesty's and my country's service.

The Provost of Stirling to the Lord Advocate.

STIRLING, 11th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — Your lordship's of the 10th came to hand this morning about 9 o'clock. On receipt thereof I sent for our bakers, and intimated to them your orders, backed with one from myself, ordering them immediately to fall about baking bread for the forces, and they are already fallen to work; and for the more expedition, I also have ordered the mills to be set a-going immediately.

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Your lordship's further commands shall be punctually observed by, my lord, etc.,

WM. CHRYSTIE.

The Duke of Argyll to the Lord Advocate.

ROSNEATH, August 12, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have received yours of the 11th. I am very sorry for the bad news Sir John Cope has received, and have little to say but that I hope it is not true. If it is, I have nothing to do but to return. I wish it were in my power to give any assistance to my friends of the government, or that I could flatter myself that my advice was of any use. I shall wait here till I hear from Argyllshire, which will determine my journey one way or other. I am, my lord, etc.,

ARGYLL.

Lord Glenorchy to the Lord Advocate.

TAYMOUTH, 12th August, 1745.

SIR: — Upon receiving your letter of the 5th, I sent to the North for an account of what was doing there, which is the reason I delayed acknowledging it so long. I find the intelligence received by the lords justices is agreeable to a report spread in that country; but I could not learn any particular circumstances, nor any preparations making publicly, for disturbing his Majesty's government, though 'tis very probable that, if the Pretender's son lands (though with a very small force), he will

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be joined by several people who would not stir though a much greater force landed without him.

I hope such measures are taking by the government as will prevent any bad consequences from an attempt of this nature, and stop the progress of it in the beginning. I shall be always ready to concur, as far as lies in my power, in everything that may conduce to that end, and shall let you know whatever accounts I receive that may be depended upon.

I received yesterday yours and the solicitor's joint letter of the 10th, with enclosed directions in what manner his Majesty's forces are to be assisted in their march, and have given the necessary orders for that purpose. I hope, if any considerable body of troops are to pass this way, I shall have timely notice of it, that everything may be ready for their accommodation.

I am, sir, etc., GLENORCHY.

P. S. — I am informed French gold is very current in the Northern Highlands.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 13th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — Since I wrote to your lordship I have received yours of the 6th instant by post, and of the 8th and 9th by express, all of which I have laid before the lords justices, who entirely approve of your conduct.

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You were certainly in the right in giving an account immediately to your friends in the Highlands of the intelligence you had received, as also in giving the like information to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, to whom, and the Provosts of Aberdeen, Dundee, and Glasgow, I have wrote by this express, as is usual on the like occasions. I am very glad to find that Sir John Cope has taken the resolution of marching with a body of troops immediately to such parts where danger is most likely to be apprehended; and I have wrote to him that it is the opinion of the lords justices that, so soon as he should receive intelligence of the disaffected being gathered together to disturb the peace of his Majesty's government, he should immediately attack them, since a little vigour shown in the beginning may prevent their growing to a head, which may prove more troublesome afterward.

You may easily judge that we shall be very impatient till we hear again from Scotland; for though it does not appear certain that the Pretender's son is himself actually landed, yet the accounts lately transmitted hither confirm in general the intelligence first received. In my last of the 6th instant, I wrote to you in relation to James Drummond, who by the information he has given you seems to be well disposed to serve his Majesty, though at the same time I would not entirely trust to him, in case he should mislead; but of his behaviour you will be able to judge, as his informa-

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tions may agree with others you may receive. I don't know what to think of the information given against the Deputy Governor of Fort William, but it was certainly right, at all events, to send an account of it to the Duke of Argyll.

The lords of the treasury have sent a credit to Sir John Cope, and from him your lordship will call for whatever money you may have occasion for in order to procure intelligence, and for other necessary service of the government. The sloop stationed at Leith will always receive orders from the admiralty to follow any directions it may receive from Sir John Cope, and by it arms may be sent to Inverness, as is suggested.

In the informations lately sent up, there are some persons named as being greatly concerned in the treasonable practices carrying on; and I hope your lordship will not scruple the issuing proper orders for seizing, at this juncture, any such persons as may reasonably be suspected to be engaged that way, without waiting for directions from hence, which perhaps may sometimes come too late.

I am, my lord, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 13th August, 1745.

MY LORD:—As my lord writes to you by this express, I will trouble you with nothing; only you will receive fifty copies of the late proclamation,

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which it has been thought proper to send to you, to be dispersed as you and Sir John Cope shall think of it; to whom you will send some of them, if he is not in Edinburgh. I make no doubt this proclamation has already been dispersed by the proper officers. I am, etc.,

AND. MITCHELL.

The Duke of Gordon to the Lord Advocate.

GORDON CASTLE, 14th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — According to promise in my last to your lordship, I think it proper to let you know that I am informed that the people in my estate in the Highlands are very quiet, as I can assure you they are in this country. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon in Edinburgh, being obliged to be there soon with Lord Braco and my neighbours, when I shall use the freedom to ask your lordship's advice in those matters as a lawyer.

I am, my lord, etc.,

GORDON.

—— *Grant to the Lord Advocate.*

CASTLE GRANT, August 15, 1745.

MY DEAR LORD: — I received yours of the 5th instant, on Saturday the 10th, upon which I immediately despatched an express to John Grant, Chamberlain of Urquhart, which is an estate we have ten miles above Inverness, and lies upon the

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side of Lock Ness, betwixt Inverness and Fort Augustus, and desired him to pick up all the information he could, with regard to the motions of the Highlanders.

Enclosed you have his return to me. My father and I have ordered him, upon any motion of the Highlanders toward that estate, to keep them off as well as he could, and to assure the whole people that we hoped they would stand firm, and unite together and be ready to obey any orders they should receive from Major Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Inverness, until either my father or I should have time to send them our directions; and that we doubted not of their exerting themselves in defence of his Majesty and our happy government.

My father and I are determined to act with all the zeal our family formerly did at the revolution, and in the year 1715; and for that purpose will act in concert with those whom we know to be firmly attached to his Majesty and his royal family. We came from Grangehill last night, and have had a meeting with all the gentlemen of this country; and I assure you it gave us both the greatest pleasure to find them all zealous and ready to venture their lives and all they have for the service of his Majesty and government. I am not in the least surprised that the four hundred we hear are with the Pretender's son, who came from France with him, were said to be ten thou-

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sand to the Chamberlain of Urquhart. The people, no doubt, are alarmed; and some, out of fear, and others, with an intention to spirit up rebellion, will magnify the numbers; but I hope they will, in the event, make a more despicable appearance than the Spaniards did at Glenshiel.

My father and I have just now a brother of Glenmoriston's with us, and he is positive Glenmoriston will not join the other clans who are near him, but that he will act in concert with us. At the same time, he is afraid some of his tenants, who are M'Donells, will follow Glengarry. I have just now heard that old Glenbucket has gone to Glengarry, and that Keppoch is convening his men; and that most of the recruits M'Donald of Loch Garrie had got for the Earl of Loudon's regiment have deserted. I hope all of us, who profess to be his Majesty's friends, will now show it by our using our best endeavours to crush this affair in the beginning. I am every minute expecting to have some further accounts from Inverness, as I am convinced the president and Major Grant will let us have what intelligence they have.

My wife joins my father and me in offering you our sincere compliments.

I am, my dear lord, etc., LUD. GRANT.

P. S. — I shall be ready to receive any commands the government thinks proper to trust me with, and shall execute them to the best of

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my power. From time to time I shall write to you.

Lord Glenorchy to the Lord Advocate.

TAYMOUTH, 15th August, 1745.

SIR:—I hope the intelligence I have just now received is not true; but it is of so great consequence that I thought it proper to acquaint you with it, that you may transmit it to the lords justices, if you think there are grounds to believe it, which you may better judge than I can, by comparing it with what you receive from other hands.

A gentleman sends me an account that ten thousand French are landed in Moidart and Arsaig, and that they are joined by all the Camerons. He adds that it is reported that they are to march first to Inverary, in order to give an opportunity to the disaffected in Argyllshire to join them, and that they will be so strong that the Duke of Argyll will not be able to prevent those who are inclined to that party from rising. You will observe that this last part, relating to their intent, is grounded only on report, but the gentleman who sends me this account insists that he has received it from such as he imagines he can depend upon. He likewise adds that the deputy governor of Fort William has burnt the village of Marybourg, which lies close by it.

I cannot express how much uneasiness I am

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under in not being able to do the government any service, for want of arms and ammunition; and I desire you to represent it so as I may be supplied.

I am, sir, etc.,

GLENORCHY.

The Earl of Findlater to the Lord Advocate.

15th AUGUST, 1745.

MY LORD:— On Monday last I was alarmed by a letter from my son-in-law, Mr. Grant, informing me of a report that some French ships, with arms, officers, and money, were come to the Isle of Skye, and that the Pretender's son was said to be amongst them, and that many of the Highlanders in that neighbourhood appeared determined to join them.

I would immediately have despatched an express to your lordship with this account, if I had not known that Major Grant had sent one to General Cope. The news surprised me extremely, because I had not the least suspicion of any disturbance. The Jacobites in this country, though elevated by the success of the French abroad, have of late had no remarkable caballings that I have heard of. I immediately made what inquiries I could for intelligence, but have not heard anything considerable.

In general, the Jacobites want to keep us secure. Their language is, that it was only two privateers, who seized some victual ships bound for Ireland, and sent their boats ashore for provisions. But if

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the Pretender's son is there with arms and money, or any officers from him, I am well convinced that great numbers will soon flock to him; and although some of the Jacobite chieftains should not venture to appear publicly themselves, they will by their demi-vassals effectually send out their men. My humble opinion is, that all care ought to be taken to crush it in the bud, which I imagine may very possibly be effected.

As all the well-affected chieftains are now in the country, I am convinced they will be zealous to exert themselves; and if some few regiments were immediately sent North, to pursue and bear down the rebels, I think it would be in their power to quell the insurrection before it can be brought to any great length. Yesterday I went to Gordon Castle, and found the duke determined to set out for Edinburgh this day, which he has accordingly done. I used, in the most prudent manner I could, all sorts of arguments to persuade him to stay at home, and effectually to exercise his power and interest to restrain his people from going out; but he said his private business necessarily obliged him to go South. I think that possibly it is not in his Grace's power to restrain all his Highlanders; but I am really of opinion that his presence and commands could keep at home the people of Euzie and Strathbogy, in which there are near three thousand papists, besides other Jacobites, and that he would have great weight

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with the people of Strathaiven, Glenlivat, and Badenoch; besides, if any of them should disobey him, he could make them feel the weight of his resentment severely. If any of the Marischal family is in Scotland, it will certainly draw great numbers from Aberdeenshire and Mearns.

The state of this corner is that, though many of the commons are very well affected, they have no arms. All the arms in the country are in the hands of the disaffected, which makes my situation very bad. Your lordship may depend on it that, according to my duty, I shall from time to time write you all the intelligence I can pick up in this neighbourhood. As to what is material in the Highlands, you will have it much earlier from Mr. Grant, and your other friends there.

I am sure that Mr. Grant will, with the greatest zeal, exert all the powers and interest of his family for his Majesty's service. I pray God may disappoint, both at home and abroad, the designs of the enemies of our king and country, and give good success to the endeavours of his Majesty's servants. As my anxiety is great, if your lordship or the solicitor will be so good as to drop a line to me sometimes, I shall take it as a very great friendship and favour.

Since writing what is on the other pages, I am informed that the Duchess of Gordon, on receiving a letter from the president to the duke, has despatched an express with it after him. I do not

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know whether that may not induce him to return. I am just now told that Glengarry's people, and several other loose Highlanders, are actually in arms; and that many of the Duke of Gordon's people, imagining themselves at liberty to follow their own inclinations, it is suspected, if the duke do not soon return, they may take the opportunity of his Grace's absence for doing it. My son is this moment arrived, and it gives me great joy to understand that the forces are marching northward.

I am, with the most sincere esteem, etc.,

FINDLATER AND SEAFIELD.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 15th August, 1745.

MY LORD:—This morning I received yours of the 11th instant, with letters from Sir John Cope by express, all which I have communicated to the lords justices; and they having expressed some surprise at his having suspended, on such slight intelligence as is contained in his of the 11th, the execution of the plan laid down in his of the 10th, of marching immediately toward the forts that form a chain from Inverness to Fort William, as the most effectual method to put a stop to the progress of his Majesty's enemies who may rise in favour of the Pretender, I have received their directions to despatch this express forthwith to Sir John Cope, with their orders that

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he should immediately march and put the aforesaid plan in execution, notwithstanding any reports he may have heard of any landing of troops, and even notwithstanding any actual debarkation of troops.

I have not time at present to enter into further particulars, but thought proper to inform you of this that you may likewise know the opinion of his Majesty's servants here at this juncture.

I am, etc., TWEEDDALE.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 15th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — I had not time to write to you by the express sent this evening to Sir John Cope. My lord has acquainted you with the resolution and orders of the lords justices, of which the speedier the execution is, the easier it will be. Most people here imagine that the attempt in the extremity of the island cannot be intended as the principal point the enemies of this nation have in view, but that by this they endeavour to cover something of a more dangerous nature, and, by drawing attention to the extreme parts, to be able with more safety to attack the vitals. All this I hope is but speculation, and there are some who seem pleased with what has happened, because, forsooth, it may occasion the bringing of the troops from Flanders.

The credit sent to Sir John Cope by the express

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of last Tuesday was intended for your lordship's use, as well as for his, and he is directed to give what money you call for; only it was judged better to have the credit in the name of one person, as the account will afterward more easily be settled than if several had been concerned, and your lordship will by this means be free of a very troublesome piece of business, — I mean settling accounts with the auditors of the imprest.

We have no news. There is nothing remarkable from Ostend. I hope your lordship will continue to animate those that want spirit, for some such there are with you, and this mad scheme of invading barren mountains, on the faith of a perfidious race, must soon end in the destruction of those concerned in it. I am

Your faithful, humble servant,

AND. MITCHELL.

Mr. Sheriff Campbell to the Lord Advocate.

INVERARY, 16th August [1745], at 9 at night.

MY LORD: — I received the honour of your lordship's letter of the 15th, upon the subject of seizing the boats in some locks and friths within this admiralty, and have transmitted a warrant for that effect to Captain Campbell, of Inveraw, this night, who marched from hence to-day upon another command. I have no certain account from the North to-day. I expect soon to have notices which I may depend on, and shall transmit them

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to the Duke of Argyll, who, no doubt, will communicate them to you and Sir John Cope.

I am, with the greatest respect, my lord, etc.,

ARCH. CAMPBELL.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 17th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — Yesterday I received yours of the 13th instant, along with some other letters from Sir John Cope, despatched by express. I give but little credit to the information sent by Captain Campbell, Deputy Governor of Fort William, and much less to Cadie Hastie's affidavit before the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, of which I am apt to believe you judged perfectly right.

I own that, notwithstanding all the informations we have yet received, I think it still, in my own private opinion, very doubtful if the Pretender's son be actually landed in Scotland; but rather incline to believe that those said to be landed from the frigate are persons that have been sent by him or the court of France, with a double view both to alarm us here, and also previously to feel the pulse and temper of the people; and that in case they should meet with any encouragement, and find numbers inclined to rise, that then he himself would come over. But whether this be so, or that he is actually landed, I can make no doubt but that Sir John Cope's marching to Fort Augustus with the troops he has will put an effec-

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tual stop to all attempts, and entirely disconcert their measures; and I hope he has not been diverted from it by any intelligence he may have received, for I know well that things will be greatly magnified, and endeavours used by the enemies of his Majesty's government to alarm the friends of it by false surmises; and, indeed, should he have delayed his march, the lords justices here will not be well pleased, considering the positive orders he has received from me on that head.

As Sir John Cope, in a former letter, very justly took notice of the very great disadvantage he was under, from the want of proper officers to act under him, his Majesty's servants here have in view to send down General Blakeney, an old officer of experience and service, to assist him. I have wrote likewise to the lords of the admiralty informing them of the intelligence we had received, and how necessary it was for his Majesty's service to send vessels to cruise on the west coast of Scotland among the islands, and I make no doubt but their lordships will immediately give the proper orders on that subject.

I have returned an answer to the letter I received from the president, which he wrote to me in consequence, as he says, of having taken the resolution, upon these reports, of going sooner toward Invernesshire than he at first intended, where I am sensible his presence will be of great service. He takes no notice to me of the intelli-

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gence to be transmitted to me by Sir John Cope, so I suppose his said letter was written before he had received that intelligence, nor have I ever heard the name of the person of consequence in the Highlands, who is said to have transmitted this and the former intelligence to his lordship.

Yesterday afternoon we received an express from Ostend, by which we find that, it being impossible for that place to hold out above two or three days at most, General Chandos, agreeably to opinion of all the officers of the garrison, had offered to capitulate, and accordingly had obtained an honourable capitulation, by which all the troops, English, Dutch, and Austrian, are at liberty to go where they please. The Dutch mails are arrived this morning, but as I have not yet seen the letters I can write you no news; but as I hope the yachts are already on the other side of the water, I take it for granted we shall have the happiness of seeing his Majesty soon here.

You know I don't usually deal in compliments, and therefore I hope you will believe it to be none, when I assure you that I think your conduct at this critical juncture is perfectly right. There is a just medium between being greatly alarmed and neglecting matters, and that is calmly to take the just and necessary measures and precautions, and to be prepared.

I am, with great regard, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

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The Earl of Moray to the Lord Advocate.

CULLODEN, 17th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — Yesterday, at Bruan Castle, I received your lordship's and Mr. Solicitor's letter, with the instructions for the sheriff deputies of this county. I came to Inverness this morning, and shall take care to enjoin my deputies to follow the instructions transmitted by your lordship with regard to the king's troops, but to do their duty in every respect, as becomes loyal and dutiful subjects in this critical juncture.

I am extremely glad to find that the vessel with arms is arrived. I only wish the number had been greater, as the king's friends seem to have few or none, and I am afraid the same thing cannot be said with respect of the enemies of the government. According to the information hitherto got, there is but one frigate that has appeared or landed any men upon the west coast, and the number is said not to exceed thirty. As to the conduct of the people in Glengarry and Lochaber, a very few days will clear it up. Your lordship need not doubt of my doing everything in my power that can contribute to his Majesty's interest. I am, my lord, etc., MORAY.

Lord Glenorchy to the Lord Advocate.

TAYMOUTH, 18th August, 1745.

SIR: — Though I thought the intelligence I sent you in my last letter of the 15th wanted con-

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firmation as to the number of the French landed, yet, having received it from one who assured me it came from good hands, I would not omit acquainting you with it; but I am just now informed by a person who is come from that part of the country that the Pretender's son is certainly landed with some gentlemen, and a few others with him; that the Pretender was proclaimed, and his standard set up on Saturday the 10th, or Monday the 12th, of this month, and that a considerable number of Highlanders were flocking unto him, particularly Sir Alexander M'Donald's men, Glengarry's men, Lochiel's men, Keppoch and his men, and several others, who will be certainly joined by all the loose, disorderly fellows of that country, which will soon make up a pretty large body; that a gentleman of the name of M'Donald has been in Badenoch, and carried with him several people of that name who lived there, and that another gentleman of the same name has been in Strathspey with the same success.

This, I am assured, is the true state of the case, but as the people gather every day, it is impossible to judge how many they now are, or what number they will be. They are all well armed, and the Pretender's son has brought a great deal of arms and money with him, whilst those who wish well to the government have neither arms nor money to serve it. They give out that they are to be supported very soon by a great body of troops

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from France, and that his Majesty's army is too small to make any resistance, and that the Dutch have shown such a coolness, that we cannot expect anything from them. Those who are assembled are in high spirits, and talk of carrying all before them without opposition.

Though this account is bad enongh, I am glad it is not so formidable as that which I sent you last. I am, sir, etc.,

GLENORCHY.

The Earl of Findlater to the Lord Advocate.

CULLEN HOUSE, 20th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — Although I cannot doubt but your lordship has fuller and further intelligence of what is doing in the Highlands than I can give, yet I think it right for me to let you know what I learn.

Yesterday I was informed, from pretty good authority, that Lords Tullibardine and Marischal, with Lochiel and several other gentlemen, the number in all about three hundred, were come with the young Pretender; that Sir Alexander Macdonald's men have actually joined him; that Clanranald, Glengarry, young Lochiel, and the Camerons and Macleans, were all on foot to join him; and that Keppoch is so sanguine that, when some of the Duke of Gordon's tenants, of the name Macdonald, showed a reluctancy to the work, he caused hough (hamstring) their cattle;

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so that whatever difficulties the duke's tenants in Lochaber may have on account of his Grace's not appearing, it is probable that they will follow Lochiel and Keppoch. They say that Perth and Glenbucket are with them.

I am told that the present way of thinking of the Duke of Gordon's people, Strathbogy and Enzie, is, that it is not their business to move unless the duke were at their head. I am also told that their present way of talking is, that they expect no assistance from France, and have but faint hopes from Spain. But though the attempt be almost desperate, it was necessary to make it, as being the last push. I do not know but this may be a form of speech to please many of their people, who have got into a habit of saying that they are not fond of his coming by foreign power. If they have money, some people are afraid that they may get considerable additions to their number from Ireland.

The Duke of Gordon returned to Gordon Castle on Sunday. I am told that he is threatened with a return of his old distemper, which they say makes his motions very uncertain. Last week, when I saw him, I did indeed think him more volatile than ordinary. I heartily wish the insurrection may be crushed in the bud, and am, with sincere esteem,

Your lordship's most faithful, obedient servant,

FINDLATER AND SEAFIELD.

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G. L. to the Lord Advocate.

CRIEF, 20th [August], 1745.

MY LORD ADVOCATE: — I just steal a moment from a hurry of business to acquaint you that, after a tedious long march in a wet day, we came to the camp last night about ten, and rest all this day until Lascelles's regiment join us, and march to-morrow. The general had an express last night. By what I can learn, the M'Donalds have taken prisoners two young companies of St. Clair's, that were on their march to reinforce Fort William. Captain Thomson was not up, who commanded, but the other captain fired three rounds and killed four Highlanders, and had five killed and the captain wounded. I know no more, but they expect the Duke of Atholl here this day, and my Lord Glenorchy. I am, etc., G. L.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 20th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — Yours of the 15th I received by express on Sunday last, with a copy of the lord justice clerk's letter to you enclosed, which I have laid before the lords justices; and they approve the orders that you intend to give for stopping boats that may be supposed to be carrying provisions to the French ship, or their adherents upon the coast, whenever application shall be made to you for that purpose by the commissioners of the customs, as a necessary measure at this juncture.

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I hope I have wrote so positively and so plainly to Sir John Cope what the opinion of his Majesty's servants is here, as to his conduct in order to the speedy suppressing any insurrection that may happen, that I am hopeful he cannot mistake it, and will therefore not delay putting it in execution.

I own I am not a little surprised that we have not received more certain intelligence of what is passing on the northwest coast of Scotland, since I think it would have been very proper, upon the first alarm, to have despatched two or three people on purpose from Edinburgh on that account. As I hinted to you in my last, General Blakeney sets out to-morrow for Scotland.

You will observe, by the capitulation of Ostend, that the garrison has leave to go where they please; whereupon, orders are sent to the North British Fusileers to set sail for Leith, which will be an additional strength to Sir John Cope in case of need. I am, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

The Lord Justice Clerk to the Marquis of Tweeddale.

BRUNSTANE, 20th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — Since I had the honour to write to your lordship yesterday by one of the king's messengers, I have from different quarters received intelligence confirming what I formerly wrote; and further importing, the rebels had

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actually begun hostilities, by taking prisoners a corporal and a soldier of the garrison of Inverlochy, or Fort William (with their guides), who were sent to Glenelg to get intelligence, and sent them to their headquarters in Moydart.

As also about thirty armed Highlanders have taken post on the king's highway between Fort William and Fort Augustus, where they have stopped all communication by post, and where they seize and search all passengers; and in general the Highlanders to the west of Fort William continue both arming and increasing their numbers, and send their emissaries over all the Highlands to stir up a general insurrection by threats and promises. The king's sloops from Clyde have got the length of Mull, where everything continues in peace and quiet. I hope soon to hear of these sloops-of-war being of service.

By all I hear, it is probable the French ship is gone away, which will be a disadvantage to the rebels, as thereby they were supplied with meal and other provisions out of ships taken by that French ship, which afforded them other apparent advantages. I concerted with the lord advocate sending this express. I am, etc.,

ANDREW FLETCHER.

P. S. — From many instances I observe that the Highlanders conceal as much as they can what they are doing, or intend to do.

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Lord George Murray to the Lord Advocate.

DUNKELD, 20th August, 1745.

MY LORD:—I find that there will be an absolute necessity for me to pay off the Sheriff of Argyllshire by Martinmass, and as I have several other demands upon me for some years past, I could wish your lordship would pay the heritable debts owing upon Glencarse, and take assignations to them, in whole to make up the sum of £4,000 sterling; and whatever further securities your lordship will incline to have upon that estate, my wife and I will most willingly agree to, and think ourselves much obliged to your lordship, for there is nothing on earth more disagreeable than to be continually dunned. I pray your lordship have your thoughts upon this, and if possible let it be done by Martinmass. I have been close with the Duke of Atholl for some time past. Orders are gone to the sheriff's deputies and substitutes to attend Sir John Cope in his march.

I do not incline to be the writer of bad news. By the accounts this day from the northwest, it is confirmed that the two companies of the royals are taken prisoners. The stores and company at Ruthven could not venture to proceed to Fort William, and it is now assured Fort William is actually besieged. My compliments to all your lordship's family. I remain, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

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Mr. George Miller to the Lord Advocate.

PERTH, 22d August, 1745.

MY LORD: — As it is now confidently reported that the rebels are actually in arms, and as no troops are left in this town, where they may repeat what was done in 1715, and as we have no arms at all for our people, even to keep guard, our magistrates earnestly entreat, if your lordship judges it proper, that you will procure us soon at least two or three hundred stand of the government arms, for which we would send immediately, and give receipt or obligement either to restore or to pay for them.

We are every moment alarmed with very bad news from the North, but as we have no certainty of anything but a landing of foreigners and a numerous rising of rebellious clans, I cannot trouble your lordship with particulars. It seems hard that there are no arms in this country, and no orders for the well-affected to take up arms, as, even without the king's troops, some stand might be made for the defence of this corner in their absence. Our provost desires me to give your lordship the trouble of the enclosed account, which is not paid, as the dragoons who made use of all these notes marched in a hurry. He hopes your lordship will advise us if we are to ask payment, or wait the return of Colonel Gardiner's regiment. We hear that either your

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lordship or the lord justice clerk has written to the magistrates of Dundee to take up suspected persons. I am, with profound respect, etc.,

GEORGE MILLER.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 22d August, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have received yours of the 15th instant by post, with the depositions of Macleod and Fraser, which I have hardly as yet had leisure to read. Late on Tuesday night I likewise received yours of the 17th by express, with letters of the same date from Sir John Cope; and I have this day letters of the 18th, from Sir John Cope, and of the 18th and 19th from the lord justice clerk, by a messenger despatched, I suppose, by the Duke of Argyll to the Duke of Newcastle, by whom, as I have no letters from you, I take it for granted you were not acquainted with his being sent off.

However, I am glad to find by these last letters that Sir John Cope has begun his march toward the forts in the Highlands, which I hope will put an end to all the attempts of the disaffected in those parts; for by that means he will be in a position to prevent them from gathering together, and also be ready to attack them in case any of them should be assembled; since I can have no notion but even the few troops he has, joined with the Highland companies that are raised, will be

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sufficient to give a good account of any numbers that could be got together in so short a time.

Sir John Cope never mentioned to me, whatever he may have done to others, any apprehensions he was under of want of cash for answering the payment of his troops and other incidental expenses. However, I thought proper to lay before the lords justices your letter of the 17th, with the memorandum to him on that head, since I thought that it not only tended to show that you are not so greatly alarmed at Edinburgh as was given out, but also that there were merchants there ready to assist the government with their credit and money.

I have this day received a letter from my Lord Harrington, by which I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the king has been graciously pleased to agree to my recommendation of your brother to succeed Baron Dalrymple, and accordingly the warrant for his commission is sent down by this post to Mr. Thomas Hay. I have not time to write to your brother myself, but wish both him and you joy of this mark of his Majesty's favour.

I am, etc., TWEEDDALE.

Mr. James Drummond to the Lord Advocate.

[Circ.]

23d August, 1745.

MY LORD: — I am credibly informed that the enemy encamped on Saturday last two miles this

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side of Fort Augustus, with a full resolution to meet with Sir John Cope on his passage through Corrygorage. Their numbers are above three thousand positive, for a good many of the Mac-Leans have joined them, and the whole of the Appin Stewarts.

Last week there landed a ship from France, near the place where the other ship landed, and the Earl Marischal and young Glengarry and several other officers were on board, and a small number of troops, such as the ship could contain. Lord John Drummond is supposed to be there likewise, and his regiment. They have a good deal of provision, ammunition, and stores, and a few large cannon. This information is not from one of those that I have entrusted, but from a gentleman who gave it me as a Jacobite, as a great secret, who I believe is a man of honour. I am persuaded you will hear of their being engaged this day or yesterday.

If the enemy have success, you may depend they will march south with all expedition, so that I thought proper to acquaint you with this. At any rate, I beg you will get an order from General Guest to allow me some rooms in the garrison of Inversnail for my safety, for depend upon it they will have their flying parties to raise men, and seize everything belonging to such as are their enemies. As for my own part, I am sure they will use all possible severity

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toward me; but I would fain think, if there was ammunition sent us, that I am able to defend this garrison against any flying party. Please despatch the bearer with the general's order, and you may believe me to be sincerely, etc.,

JAS. DRUMMOND.

Queries by Sir John Cope to the Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General.

SIR JOHN COPE, commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's forces in North Britain, desires the opinion of the lord advocate and solicitor-general, how he is to proceed for his Majesty's service in this time of emergency, upon the following heads:

1st. If meal, cattle, and other necessary provisions are wanting, and the people of the country, who have them, refuse to part with them at the selling price of the country, how are the troops to be supplied?

2d. Firing for the men's kettles, straw for the tents, hay, corn, straw, and grass for the horses, — how are the troops to be supplied with these, if the people who have them refuse parting with them at the current price of the country?

3d. If carriages and horses are wanting for transporting provisions, warlike stores, and other necessaries, how shall the troops be supplied if the country people refuse to hire them at the usual prices?

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4th. If quarters are refused, and ground necessary for encamping, what is to be done?

5th. As many other incidents may be necessary, and contingencies may arise in the march, — quartering, encamping, and providing the troops in the present juncture, — how may the commanding officers proceed? JNO. COPE.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 24th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — This morning I received yours of the 20th instant by express, which the justice clerk in his letter to me says was concerted with your lordship.

The justice clerk informs me that the rebels had actually begun hostilities by taking prisoner a corporal and soldier of the garrison of Fort William, who had been sent to gain intelligence, and had carried them to the headquarters at Moidart; as also that thirty armed Highlanders had taken post on the king's highway between Fort William and Fort Augustus, where they have stopped all communication by the post, and stop and search all messengers. This intelligence, whether true or false, convinces me how necessary it was for Sir John Cope to march toward Fort Augustus, since I always thought, and indeed no one ever had the least thought of it here, that in case this affair became serious, the first and only step the disaffected would take, that could be of any con-

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James Stuart the Pretender.
Photo-etching after the painting by Belle.

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sequence to the peace and quiet of his Majesty's government, would be to endeavour to stop the communication between these forts and the lower parts of the country.

But the chief occasion of my sending you this express is on account of two pieces of intelligence I this morning received from Mr. Trevor from The Hague by the last mail, an extract from which I send you here enclosed. The one concerns a brother of Vyne Garden, a merchant in Rotterdam, who I have good reason to believe is an agent for the Jacobites. I believe this brother of his will be found somewhere in the Canongate. He should be narrowly watched, and it might not be amiss that his house should be searched, since I think it not impossible but something or other might be found. As to the other piece of intelligence, you will see how necessary it is that no time be lost in endeavouring to secure these two persons. You had my directions formerly in relation to Pillans, who seems to have been a good deal employed in transporting backward and forward dangerous persons. You shall hear again this night from me by the common post.

I am, etc., TWEEDDALE.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 24th August, 1745.

MY LORD:—This morning I received yours of the 20th instant by express, by which you inform

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me of your having received intelligence that the rebels had actually begun hostilities by taking a corporal and private soldier prisoners; as also that thirty armed Highlanders had taken post on the highway between Fort William and Fort Augustus. I always imagined that if ever this affair became serious, the disaffected would endeavour to cut off all the communication between those forts and the Low Country, and, therefore, I have constantly pressed Sir John Cope to march without delay toward Fort Augustus.

It is likewise thought here that, should the disaffected retire into any place of the country where there might be any difficulty to get at them with regular troops, the three additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, and those raised by the Earl of Loudon, supported by a few of the regular troops, will be able soon to give a good account of them. The crushing this insurrection in the beginning is of the utmost importance to his Majesty's service. I make no doubt but when the king's sloops arrive on the coast, they will be of great service at this time.

I am, etc., TWEEDDALE.

P. S. — I own I am surprised your lordship is not more particular as to the young Pretender himself, since there are several letters in town absolutely contradicting the accounts sent from Scotland to the government here of his ever

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having landed there. I think it incumbent on all his Majesty's servants in that country to use their utmost diligence to sift to the bottom the truth of this particular.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 24th August, 1745.

MY LORD:— Though your lordship has had no leisure to write to me of late, I must acquaint you with a report we have here of Mr. Maule's house, in Edinburgh, having been searched by your lordship's order. When I asked my Lord Marquis about it, he said you had wrote nothing of it to him. The reason why I take the liberty to mention this to you is, because the story has already been told differently; and as it may still gather more circumstances, I think your friends here should know the truth, in order to silence idle talkers.

I have wrote to my cousin, Mr. Smollett, who is now at Bonhill, in Dumbartonshire, to send you whatever intelligence he can get; and I have taken the liberty to promise, in your name, that he shall never be mentioned, in order to induce him to be free with you. If he writes to you, or waits on you about these affairs, I hope you will give him full assurance to the same purpose, because, unless that point is secured, I know he will do nothing.

We expect his Majesty next Wednesday. There is nothing new. I am, etc., AND. MITCHELL.

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Mr. David Scott to the Lord Advocate.

25th August, 1745.

My Lord :— I am much obliged to you for the intelligence you sent us. I am glad that it is thought the young man did his duty. I had a surmise of it before I received your letter; and this day I had an express from Perth to much the same purpose, and from the same channel, as coming from Glengarry, that they were attacked for two miles together in the wood; that they had fired eighteen platoons, and had eighteen wounded, besides the killed; and that there were but seventy men of them, the rest being shipped for Flanders in April last. A little time now must unriddle this affair, and if Sir John Cope do not drive them back, I doubt we must flit from this country.

My Lord Stormont and my Lady, who both are here, send their compliments to you, so with Mrs. Murray's and mine to Mrs. Craigie,

I continue to be, etc.,

Dav. Scott.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

Whitehall, 27th August, 1745.

My Lord :— I have received your lordship's of the 21st, 22d, and 23d instant, by express; I have likewise received two letters from Sir John Cope, all which I have this day laid before the lords justices; and I have by this express wrote to Sir

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John Cope, signifying to him that he should march with as much expedition as the nature of things will admit, and I hope he will be able to give a good account of any rebels that may be got together.

We are sorry to find the accident that happened to the two additional companies confirmed, and were not less surprised at what Sir John writes, of his having no hopes of getting assistance of men from either the Duke of Atholl or Lord Glenorchy, notwithstanding their former letters representing what great things they could do, provided their men were furnished with arms. From this it appears that they either cannot get their men to follow them, which is a proof of how delicate a nature, as your lordship expresses it, the distributing of arms in general is, and therefore I have recommended it to Sir John Cope to be very cautious how he gives arms to any but such as are willing to associate themselves with the king's troops, and this will be a proper condition in your answers to any who apply to you for arms.

The lords justices have given orders that forty additional men be immediately raised, to be added to the ordinary garrisons of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling; and they have also under consideration the most effectual measures for the security of the kingdom against any invasion either from France or Spain, or any other accident that may happen. In the meantime, the lords justices have recommended to me that you should,

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in concert with his Majesty's other servants now in Edinburgh, write circular letters to all the sheriffs of the counties in Scotland, that they keep a strict eye on what may be passing in their respective districts: as also like letters to the justices of the peace of each county to the same purpose; and that they hold frequent meetings, in order to be ready to give the proper orders for the security of the peace, in case of riots or tumults. I have not time to add more, but to assure you that

I am, my lord, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

Anonymous Letter to the Lord Advocate.

EDINBURGH, 27th August, 1745.

MY LORD:— Out of regard to the cause of my country, and from a consciousness of my duty to all the hearty well-wishers of its prosperity, whose interest I do think at stake, I give your lordship the trouble of this letter. It is very far from my ordinary temper to be an informer where transgressions are small; but as this case enters into the vitals of everything that is dear to the honest part of our nation as men or Christians, I take upon me to be informer for once, and to assure your lordship that the Pretender's manifesto was printed on Sabbath night last, in the house of Robert Drummond, in the Swan Close, Edinburgh, where I think search ought to be made.

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A feigned search, as I understand, was made elsewhere; but do you order a search there, and cause examine the master and his servants, three of whose names are David Ross, William Ross, and William Rowan; and likewise cause examine Mr. Drummond's neighbours, some of whom say that they heard his press going on the Sabbath night. You'll please pardon that I don't sign my name in this case, while I assure you that

I am, etc.

P. S. — Your lordship should call for the assistance of some of the Whiggish printers in this search.

Sir John Cope to General Guest.

INVERNESS, 29th August, 1745.

DEAR SIR: — By making two forced marches we are arrived here late at night. The Corryarrack was too well defended for us to attempt the passage, which was the opinion of all the commanding officers of the corps here.

When the enemy were disappointed of meeting us at the Corryarrack, they sent a detachment of nine hundred of their best men to take possession of Stocknuich, a strong pass, and to hold that till their main body came up. They have attended us all day at some distance. What they or we shall do next, I believe, is equally uncertain. Their numbers are above three times as strong

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as we are, but I will attack them unless they keep in passes where it is impracticable for us to act.

You know how difficult it is for troops to subsist in this country before harvest comes on, therefore I think it necessary you should send us proper provisions for our support. Though I brought with me three hundred stand of arms, I have not yet had one man to give them to. I have executed the orders I had from London, and will do the best I can for the king's service. I have been on horseback from four in the morning till now, past nine at night, so you may judge I am a good deal fatigued. I am very well, and the men are in good spirits. I am, etc.,

JOHN COPE.

Lord Fortrose to the Lord Advocate.

BRUAN CASTLE, 29th August, 1745.

MY LORD: — All the intelligence I got from the Highlands I sent by express to Sir John Cope, as I heard then that he was marching for Inverness, which I knew would answer your end, and of course be communicated to you.

We are very quiet in this country. If my services are wanted, his Majesty will find me and mine ready to execute his commands.

I am, etc.,

FORTROSE.

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The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

(Extracts.)

WHITEHALL, 29th August, 1745.

MY LORD:—I hope you do not neglect to transmit to Sir John Cope any intelligence you may receive, which you may judge he has not got. I am hopeful Sir John Cope's march will have good effect, and I cannot but observe all possible endeavours have been used by some to alarm him, that he might think it proper to proceed.

I am of opinion that, though you were in the right to pay all due regard and deference to the Duke of Argyll when he was upon the spot, yet I do not think there is the same reason for doing so, to such only who shall make use of his name; and especially my Lord Provost, of whose great zeal for this government we have had yet no great proofs.

Sir John Cope, in his last letter, sent me up the printed manifesto, without acquainting me how he had got it. There are two: the one printed at Rome, and the other at Paris, the 26th of May, 1745, signed C. P. R., which I immediately sent to the king. You were in the right to cause the search to be made for it, upon the information you had got.

In one of yours you rightly suggest that things would be in great confusion should Sir John Cope's army meet with any check; and that

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therefore his Majesty's servants should not spare expense to provide for the worst. I wish you had suggested, at least in a private note, what you would propose fit to be done at this juncture. As the wind is now fair, we have reason to expect to hear of the king's landing every moment. I am sensible you have a great deal to do, and but little assistance; however, continue as you have done. You have the satisfaction of doing your duty; and whatever may be thought at Edinburgh, I assure you that you have gained a great deal of credit here, and your conduct is approved of.

Adieu! I do not know if you will be able to read this scrawl. I hope I need not recommend you to take particular notice of every person, be they who they will, that are mentioned in Drummond's declaration, or of whom you may otherwise receive information of having joined the Pretender's son, or of having any correspondence with him, that they should be seized if they can be discovered.

The Duke of Atholl to the Lord Advocate.

DUNKELD, 30th August, 1745,
past 10 o'clock.

MY LORD:—This morning, by express from Blair, I hear that the Highlanders are this night at Dalnacardoch, seven miles above Blair. I send your lordship a copy of the letter. I intend to

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set out to-morrow morning for Edinburgh. As you may judge, it is not safe for me to be here any longer. Being in a great hurry, I hope you will excuse me not writing this with my own hand.

Since writing the above I have another letter, dated half an hour after six, confirming the enclosed, but with this particular, that my brother has sent orders to the servants at Blair to have the house ready for him against to-morrow; and that it is understood they are to march through Atholl to Perth. Of this I have sent notice by the bearer to the Provost of Perth.

As it is possible for them to make a quick march to Stirling, I have acquainted the commanding officer of my intelligence.

I am, my lord, etc.,

ATHOLL.

Commissary Blair (apparently) to the Duke of Athol.

(Extract.)

BLAIR, 30th August, 5 o'clock, afternoon.

This moment I have an express from Blairpheaty, acquainting me that the Highlanders are this night to be at Dalnacardoch; that some of their forerunners are there already, and that Blairpheaty and his neighbourhood have orders upon sight to send in meal and sheep to their camp immediately.

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The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 31st August, 1745.

MY LORD:—I received yours of the 24th instant. You are certainly in the right to endeavour to secure all persons you have reason to suspect to be making preparations for joining the rebels. As to Mr. Graham, of Glengyle, I can give you no particular directions as yet, since I do not know what is usually allowed for state prisoners in Scotland; but I think you should follow the same method that has been observed there on former occasions.

I send this by express principally to acquaint you that the king — God be thanked! — arrived in perfect health this day at Kensington, at one o'clock. As his Majesty passed through the city he was welcomed with very uncommon acclamations of the citizens, who expressed the greatest joy, and seemed highly pleased. I have also wrote to General Guest to acquaint him that four battalions of Dutch troops are to come immediately to England, and are to be followed by more in case of need; as also that a Dutch regiment is to sail forthwith for Leith, and that therefore he should give the necessary orders for their quarters. I have also desired the general to correspond with me punctually during Sir John Cope's absence from Edinburgh; and that when he has anything material which he shall think necessary to be sent

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by express, that he should acquaint you in case you have anything to write at the same time, and I hope you will do the same in regard to him, to prevent the multiplicity of expresses.

I am, etc., TWEEDDALE.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 31st August, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have seen your lordship's account of the search of Mr. Maule's house, and I am extremely glad that you have acquainted your friends with the circumstances; and, as your conduct in this was reasonable and sensible, when the part you had in it shall be publicly known, it cannot fail to put an end to a malicious and absurd misrepresentation that has been industriously spread in order to injure you.

You will receive herewith a letter from my lord to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, which is sent, with a flying seal, for your perusal. If you think that it is expedient to deliver it, you will remember to drop wax under the seal, and to return it to Mr. Hay, to be delivered as if it had not passed through your hands.

Your lordship need not be discouraged by malicious reports. Your conduct and vigilance are generally approved of; but the part some people have acted, and particularly the sudden return of a certain duke, occasions some speculation and some

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severe reflections. His motives are too deep and, perhaps, too refined for me to conjecture, and, therefore, I shall leave the discovery of them to your lordship's better penetration. As the express is just going out, I have time to add no more. I am most sincerely yours, etc.

P. S. — The Dutch battalions that are ordered over are, I hear, those that were in Tournay, so that our neighbours are not weakened by sending them, because, by the capitulation, they could not serve. It will be a grievous disappointment to some people, who, ever since these disturbances began, have been endeavouring to raise the clamour for the necessity of recalling immediately the army from Flanders, and, of consequence, of breaking at once all communication with the allies on the Continent; but this appears to me as absurd as if a man, observing a flea-bite on his ankle, should immediately throw himself into a salivation, for fear of the consequence of this alarming red spot.

The Provost of Aberdeen to the Lord Advocate.

ABERDEEN, 31st August, 1745.

MY LORD: — Upon receiving a letter from the Marquis of Tweeddale, intimating the Pretender's son being landed, or about to land, in Scotland, and ordering me to take care of the peace of this city, and to use all proper methods for that end,

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the magistrates were ordered to take up lists of all the fensible men from sixteen to sixty years of age, in order to be on our defence from any insurgents or enemies whatsoever; and we do intend to cause all our fensible men to be under a regular muster for the defence of our town and property, but did not choose to call them out to muster, till satisfied that we were acting a legal and warrantable deed, and that we had power to do, and also to compel recusants, by fining or other punishment. Therefore, I have presumed to trouble your lordship with this by express, and to beg your advice how far the magistrates of Aberdeen may proceed in the above affair.

I also must presume to acquaint you that, if we are authorised by law to muster our inhabitants, we have not arms to supply one-third part of the town, and that, if the government has ordered arms for Scotland, we should at least need five hundred stand; otherwise we shall be but in a very defenceless situation, and left at the mercy of a very small force, and could not at all be capable to make a defence, were we ever so willing. I would fain hope, in case arms are ordered for the militia of Scotland, that your lordship would procure a part of them for us. As this relates to our peace and quiet, I hope it will plead an excuse.

I have the honour to be, with great regard, etc.,

JAMES MORISON, *Provost.*

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P. S. — All our inhabitants have been advertised to give up a true account of what arms or ammunition they are possessed of, and several have sent up an account thereof. I should, therefore, further beg of your lordship that you would be pleased to advise me how to proceed against those that are possessed of arms and have concealed them.

Mr. James Crie, Jun., to the Lord Advocate.

SIR: — By advice from Blair, which my father found a way of conveying, and which the bearer had the good fortune to succeed in delivering, after often searching to conceal, we learn that the prince and the whole army lie at Blair; that it is thought they are to take the Stirling road; and that a servant who was left here by the duke of Athol (being sent off with some letters, papers, and advice) was seized on his way to Tullibardine, and carried prisoner to Blair by Woodsheal.

By the servant that came down, it is told that their number is something above five thousand; that to-morrow night they will amount to six or above it; that the marquis has had the vassals with him, and ordered a man out of every two marks, or two pleughs of land; that they are all vastly well armed with pretty new arms, every man having a gun, bayonet, sword, pistol of the holster kind, and a target; and that on a surmise of Sir John Cope's coming south, Lochiel waited

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for him all yesterday on the hill with a thousand men, and came to Blair with them this day. All the posts on the road are guarded, so that we can have hereafter no certain accounts.

The prince, etc., stay in Blair Castle, and if any come this road, it is thought it will only be the marquis with a few to see the place. As after this we can have no certain accounts, and as the roads between this and you are ticklish (orders being given to seize all expresses by a certain neighbour of distinction), and considering the danger that the intercepting of intelligence may be attended with, you will excuse my writing you no further accounts.

I have ordered the bearer to carry this by a by-road.

The Earl of Findlater to the Lord Advocate.

CULLEN HOUSE, 1st September, 1745.

MY LORD:—I received only on Friday last your lordship's letters of the 21st and 26th of August, for which I beg leave to return you my most sincere and humble thanks, it being a very great comfort in the present situation to hear from any of his Majesty's servants, and especially from your lordship, for whom I justly have so much esteem.

I have this moment a letter from my son-in-law, Mr. Grant, acquainting me that the general, with his army, had on Wednesday and Thursday last

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passed through part of Strathspey and the braes of Dullen without being attacked in the woods and narrow passes by the rebels; so that it is certain he must have arrived at Inverness on the Thursday night or Friday morning. I most heartily wish that his being there may have all the good effects which I flattered myself would attend his coming north. Had he come about a week or ten days sooner, and got to Fort Augustus, I believe he might have prevented the insurrection's coming to any head, which I am afraid may now require longer time and more forces to dissipate it, for Mr. Grant writes me that the whole body of the rebels were expected to be at Riven on Friday night; that they were using all diligence to raise the men of Badenoch; that for a considerable time Lord Perth and others had kept intelligence with the disaffected in Strathawen, Glenlivat, Braemar, and Strathdon; that many in these places were engaged to join them; and that now they were so near it was very probable that the junction from these countries, either through real or seeming force, would be greater than was imagined; that the day before they had despatched a party of two hundred men, who, after taking Cluny prisoner, attacked the barrack at Riven; but, having no cannon, could not make themselves masters of it, but were repulsed with the loss of one man killed and two deadly wounded.

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He does not tell me whether it was old Cluny or young Cluny that was taken prisoner. He appears to have been of opinion that the general's staying at Riven would have been more effectual to prevent the increase of their numbers than their going to Inverness; but this is a point which I cannot presume to determine, seeing, if they had been able to make themselves masters of Inverness before the general's arrival there, it might have been attended with very great inconveniences. He was obliged, on the Thursday, to have all his men in arms, on account of informations he had of an intention of burning and destroying his country; and has fortified Castle Grant in such a manner that he thinks it cannot be taken without cannon. He assures me of his firm resolution to do everything in his power for his Majesty's service, and says he has laid all his sentiments before the general, and desired, from time to time, to receive such directions as may be proper, which he will always follow so far as his power and the necessary defence of his own country can permit.

I send this by express to Aberdeen, our posts from this part of the country being so very slow, and only two of them in the week.

I am, with the greatest truth and respect, etc.,

FINDLATER AND SEAFIELD.

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Sir David Moncreiffe to the Hon. Baron Craigie.

MONCREIFFE, 1st September, 1745.

DEAR SIR: — Yesterday we were greatly alarmed, as by this time you would be informed of. On the first accounts of it, I sent off as far as Invar, near Dunkeld, to be informed more fully than I could be even from the Duke of Atholl's letter to Provost Crie, and late last night the servant informed me that the main body of the Highlanders had turned off at Dalnacardoch, and only a small party had come along with Lord Tullibardine to Blair; and that orders were sent to Dunkeld to have provisions on Monday, or this night, for two hundred men. On Tuesday, it is believed that a small number is to be in Perth, and then to go and join their main body in Monteith, about the ford of Forth, so that this country, I hope, will be safe, as they seem to be in a very great haste. This I thought proper to trouble you with, being with the greatest regard,

Dear sir, etc., D. MONCREIFFE.

The Provost of Perth to the Lord Advocate.

PERTH, 1st September, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have received yours of the 31st. Upon the news of the Highlanders' approach to this country, by express from the Duke of Atholl, we dismissed our guard, not having above twenty guns in the town fit for use; so that our town

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is open to the Highlanders whenever they come, which has occasioned several of our people to leave the town, and many to remove their effects.

I had this morning advice from Commissary Bisset at Dunkeld, that he is informed the main body of the Highlanders remained on the 30th ultimo in the braes of Badenoch, but that the Duke of Atholl's brother, with two hundred men or thereabouts, with a design of raising the country for recruiting their army, came to the head of the country on the night of the 30th of last month, he having lodged at Blairpheaty; and he has, under penalties, ordered the whole vassals to attend him, and that he will be at Dunkeld this day. My compliments to your lady and family.

I am, my lord, etc., JAMES CRIE.

Sir David Moncreiffe to the Hon. Baron Craigie.

DEAR SIR:—Your servants shall not be neglected, or want anything fit for them. My servant has ventured too far, and is not returned, so I fear the worst.

Mr. Moncreiffe is still in the country, but has secured his retreat in case of visits, for to-morrow Hickson is to have all the Highlanders. The Duchess of Atholl and Lady Mary, with their horses, have taken sanctuary at Moncreiffe, where it is to be hoped there will be no rudeness committed, but everybody must lay their

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accounts with the worst. The numbers are, by report, greatly increased, but I hope there is no foundation for the one half. If they stay a week we are all ruined; but as great preparations are making at Drummond, we expect a short visit. More Perthshire people are joined, — young G——h, L. N., and D. P.

The Provost of Perth to the Lord Advocate.

PERTH, 2d September, 1745.

MY LORD: — Enclosed is the copy of a letter sent me from Dunkeld, with intelligence which came from Blair this morning at five o'clock, which I think it my duty to communicate to your lordship. I have also sent an account of it to Stirling. You will please let the Duke of Atholl know of this, and that his Grace's letter to Colonel Gardiner was safe delivered; the colonel having written to me, and he likewise says, if the Highlanders come to Stirling, he will give them a warm reception.

We are pleased to hear that a regiment of foot was to be at Stirling last night. I am at all imaginable pains to have certain intelligence from all quarters, and I am, etc.,

JAMES CRIE.

P. S. — Mr. M'Lauren furnishes this express with a horse for his Majesty's service.

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The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 3d September, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have received yours of the 27th of August by post, and of the 28th and 29th by express, all which I have had the honour to lay before the king. I am hopeful the passengers aboard of Pillan's ship will not escape. You will have heard, long before this, that we were disappointed in the British regiment intended at first to come from Ostend to Leith, as it was obliged to join the army in Flanders; but I wrote to General Guest last Saturday by express, that a Swiss regiment was to come immediately from Holland to Leith, which you may expect with the first fair wind, and I hope care will be taken that they be provided with good quarters against they arrive. More battalions will immediately follow this, should circumstances require it. You may believe the last express makes us very impatient till we hear again from Sir John Cope. I think what you write in yours of the 29th of August perfectly right.

I did not receive any particular directions from his Majesty, in relation to the magistrates' raising a number of men for the defence of the town of Edinburgh and the support of the government; and I did not press it, the rather as the lord justice clerk, in his letter to me of the same date, writes that this scheme was not as yet quite ripened. Whenever it is fully digested and sent

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up here, you shall not fail to receive immediately his Majesty's directions thereupon.

Yesterday would be a great day at Frankfort, when it was not doubted but the great duke would be chosen emperor. I am, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 4th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — This morning I received a letter from Mr. Corbett, by order of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, desiring me to forward to Scotland packets for the captains of his Majesty's ship the *Port Mahon*, and the *Furnace*, *Terror*, and *Serpent* sloops, containing orders to them how to conduct themselves in preventing supplies of men, provisions, or ammunition being sent to the rebels. I transmit the said packets to you, together with the duplicates of them, and you will concert with Sir John Inglis, or others, how they may be most safely conveyed to them without loss of time. The duplicates will be of use, in case there is any doubt how to direct to the captains, and, in the case of the loss of the original orders, will supply their place.

You will receive, enclosed, a warrant for a thousand stand of small arms, for the use of a thousand men, to be raised by the burgesses of Edinburgh, in case that scheme takes place, which, however, is left to your discretion to produce or not, as you

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shall think expedient. One inconvenience will certainly follow if this warrant is used: all the towns in Scotland will apply for arms, and it is certain they will not all be gratified; but this consideration I submit to your lordship. Upon receiving the express last night, with the news from the Duke of Atholl, it was thought expedient immediately to grant his Majesty's royal license to the provost, magistrates, and town council of Edinburgh, to raise a thousand men, and accordingly it is sent by this packet; but unless the burgesses are of the same mind they were of when you wrote last, it will be better never to produce it than to have it made public without being put in execution. I mention this to you because the scheme is still in embryo, and the warrant has been granted without any regular or direct application to the Crown from the citizens of Edinburgh.

The Earl of Stair, on consideration of the state of the Highlands and the particular situation of the rebels, proposed that twenty independent companies should be immediately raised in that country, and his Majesty has been pleased to agree to it, and blank commissions are accordingly sent by this packet to be disposed of by the lord president, who is now in these parts, and is believed to have an influence with the Whig clans. I am sensible so large a trust will create much envy, but I hope his lordship's right use of this power will justify the choice; and I am sure his impartiality in bestow-

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ing favours will do him great honour, nor will the abuse of it pass unobserved. You know, at this time, there was little leisure for deliberation; and if this power had been given to more than one person, it was imagined it might prevent the scheme being of any use at all.

The Duke of Atholl's letter of the 30th August has occasioned a great alarm, particularly among some of ——, who do not pique themselves upon their courage, either natural or political, and has at last produced this great and good effect, that ten battalions of our troops are ordered to embark for England directly; and now, if the young Pretender should embark to-morrow, he has effectually served France, and more than repaid her all the expense of the expedition. But what if, after all these wise resolutions and sage precautions, the Highlanders that were near Blair last Friday should prove to be only a party sent with the Marquis of Tullibardine, to excite a becoming zeal in the Atholl men? And what if Sir John Cope, before this reaches you, should have gained a glorious victory over the main body of the rebels? In both or either of these cases you and I will laugh with impunity, and we will not laugh alone.

We are amused every day with reports of the Ferrol squadron, but I hear nothing certain about it. I wish the wind was favourable for Admiral Vernon to sail: the said wind would bring over the Dutch troops, and I hope allay the panic that

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seems to have seized this nation to such a degree that it is almost impudence to pray for success in such a state of trepidation.

Yours of the 27th gave me great satisfaction, as you had been greatly abused on that score. I have already made use of it, to undeceive such as deserve to be set right, and it has had the desired effect. I will endeavour still to improve it, for the malice and scoundrility of some people surpasses understanding. A certain great man, who lately made a long and safe retreat, is, I hear, very angry about this affair, and talks of it; but you know he has sometimes been singular in his opinions. Since his arrival he has kept house, though I hear his illness is very slight. His followers say he was sent for; this is denied. Others say that a trap was laid to bring him into a scape, but that his sagacious and timely retreat prevented its taking effect. In general, his behaviour is condemned. It is now past twelve o'clock at night, and I am heartily tired, as I believe you will be when you have got this length.

The blank commission could not be sent by this express, being made out too late to pass at the Stamp Office. This early notice will, I hope, be so far of use to your lordship, that if you have any friends in the Highlands you may easily provide for them. As the letters to the president and Sir John Cope contain nothing material, save about the commissions, you may easily either forward

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them if an opportunity offer, or keep them till the commissions reach you.

The Provost of Dunbar to the Lord Advocate.

DUNBAR, 4th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — In obedience to your lordship's orders for detaining all boats that may be brought to this harbour for his Majesty's service, we shall, to the utmost of our power, endeavour to discharge our duty in that respect, — willing to embrace every opportunity to testify how much we have the interest of the present government at heart. We want to be informed whether all boats that come in here accidentally should be also detained, which please signify by post.

I have the honour to be, in the name of the rest of the magistrates, my lord, etc.,

C. POLLOCKE.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 4th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — After I had finished my letter last night, I received yours of the 31st by express, with a copy of the intelligence sent you by the Duke of Atholl, which I immediately laid before the king, who was surprised to find that Sir John Cope had given the rebels an opportunity to pass him.

I hope it has not been neglected, upon any further accounts of the progress of the rebels

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toward the low country, to order, as you suggest, all the passage-boats to the south side of the Forth; as also that such sloops-of-war and other armed vessels as may be in that river, be stationed to obstruct and to prevent the passage of the rebels, should they attempt it.

I send you down here, enclosed, a warrant, signed by his Majesty, for raising a thousand men, to be employed for the defence of the town of Edinburgh and the support of the government, as you in your last desired might be done. I must at the same time observe to you that it is thought here, in the case of actual rebellion, there is nothing against the well-affected arming themselves, and joining with others in defence of the government, without any special license for that purpose. The Earl of Stair has proposed that a number of blank commissions be sent down, to be distributed among the well-affected clans, as the lord president of the session shall think proper. Such a number, being joined into regular companies, will be in a condition not only to hinder more men to rise for the Pretender's service, but a part of them may go and live at discretion in the countries the rebels have left; or, if it shall be thought more necessary, either the whole or any part of them may march into the south country with Sir John Cope, according to the orders they shall receive.

This proposal his Majesty has agreed to, and accordingly a number of blank commissions go

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down by this express, which ought immediately to be despatched to the president. I have acquainted Sir John Cope with this, but have mentioned nothing else, as in the present uncertainty of his situation no orders can be sent to him from hence; so that he must be left to act as he shall judge best for his Majesty's service, till we hear further from him. We shall have immediately a considerable body of troops in Britain, so that this mad and desperate attempt must end in the ruin of those who embark in it. I am, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

The Provost of Perth to the Lord Advocate.

STRATHRINGLO, 4th September, 1745.

MY LORD:—Last night, about nine o'clock, Lochiel came here with about three hundred Highlanders, and promised all civilities; but as they began this morning to press our wrights to make targets, and our drummers and pipers to go and proclaim their prince and manifestos, beginning at the foot, I did not know but that they might come to the head; therefore I thought fit to leave the town, and am so far on my way for the East Nook of Fife. They are very civil, and promise to pay for everything they have occasion for. The prince, with the whole army, is to be in our town this night.

I am, my lord, etc.,

JAMES CRIE.

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Mr. Gabriel Napier to the Lord Advocate.

STIRLING, 5th September, 1745.

MY LORD:—I had the honour of yours of the 4th last night, which I this morning communicated to Colonel Blakeney and Colonel Gardiner; and I assure you the news of the king's arrival gave great joy to them and to all the well-affected here, who testified the same by drinking the king's health, and all the royal family's, at a table prepared by the magistrates at the Cross. Sir James Livingstone was present, who lives with his father-in-law, Sir James Campbell, at Gargunnoch, which is in the neighbourhood of the fords of Forth; and he says that the country people in that neighbourhood are willing and ready to keep guard at these fords if they were provided with arms, and have desired me to apply to your lordship to procure an order for them.

I have taken upon me to raise two hundred men for night guards, and for whom I have, by General Blakeney's orders, got arms out of this castle. These men are to be placed at proper distances around the camp, both for saving the troops overmuch fatigue, and for preventing of alarms, of which they have had this week two, by some people's firing in the night-time.

It is thought, upon good grounds, by several gentlemen of the peace who have come here this day, and by the magistrates of the burgh, that if

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five troops of General Hamilton's dragoons were sent here to assist Colonel Gardiner, it would strike such a terror into the rebels that they would not venture to cross at the heads of Forth, or, if they did, these troops would master them, and the sooner they attacked them passing this way it would be the better. I have communicated this to the general and Colonel Gardiner, who both approve thereof. The gentlemen and magistrates here could heartily wish that your lordship would apply to General Guest to grant our desire.

I am informed, from very good authority, and which may be relied upon, that on Tuesday's night last, about 11 o'clock, two hundred and sixty of the rebels, or thereabouts, did take possession of Perth, and were yesterday joined by their main body, which consists of about three or four thousand more; and that about noon yesterday the Pretender was proclaimed at the Cross by Sir Robert Mercer, of Adie, and that last night some people, who were flying from Perth and are come this forenoon here, say that they met Mr. Oliphant, of Gask, and about twelve men on horseback along with him, and that they charged them to go to Perth to the Pretender's standard, which they said they would do, but retired here. There is another man come in, as I am writing hereof, who says that the rebels apprehended the deacon of the wrights and the whole wrights of Perth, and im-

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prisoned them till such time as they should find caution to work at tent-poles, targets, etc., for them. Lochiel, the younger, came in at the head of the first two hundred and sixty of the rebels, on the Tuesday's night.

I am, my lord, etc.,

GABRIEL NAPIER.

P. S. — Colonel Gardiner desired me to tell you that he got yours, and would write you an answer had I not wrote to you so fully at this time. Please let me know if any Dutch troops be yet landed, or if we are to expect any more forces here.

Mr. Griffiths to General Guest.

[Circ.] 5th September, 1745.

SIR: — Sir John Cope has brought us all safe to Fort St. George. We have escaped some interruptions prepared for us at Corryarrack, and this morning near Dabrachny, where we encamped last night. Mr. Grant returned from Fort Augustus this evening, just as we got in, and has brought us the best intelligence. The Pretender, with his army, marched from Lochgarry by Fort Augustus yesterday morning for the Corryarrack, and he had a friend in their camp all night, who brings them certain intelligence of their strength being above two thousand men, well-armed and resolute. They despatched nine hundred to dispute the above pass with us

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this morning, and keep us in play till the army got up; but we were too early for them, having got through that defile by six o'clock.

Mr. Grant is this morning going to the president with Sir John's express, so I must beg your pardon that I cannot enlarge in particulars; but Mr. Grant and I shall write you everything that we can learn by next express.

I am, etc.

P. S. — I received all your commands this morning about the provisions, etc., for Inverness, which has pleased Sir John very greatly. I fear Brigadier Blakeney will fall into their hands before he reaches us, for the country is in their possession.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 7th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — As most of his Majesty's servants were out of town this day, and as the intelligence, both in regard to the rebels and Sir John Cope, seems so very uncertain, it was impossible for me to give any particular orders, and therefore unnecessary to despatch an express, so that I have only wrote by the common post, and mentioned what occurs to us here.

I have sent my letter to Sir John Cope under a flying seal to you, that you may read it before it is sent to him, and that you may at the same time suggest to him what occurs to you, according as

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circumstances may alter before this reaches you. It is true I did write to him to send his letters to Mr. Hay, to be by him transmitted, since I began to observe he endeavoured to divert the channel of his corrrespondence with me; but at the same time, I as think it very necessary you should be particularly informed of Sir John Cope's motions, you have full liberty to open and read all his letters to me, which I expect Mr. Hay will bring to you, that they may be sent up to me under your cover. I take it for granted also that General Guest will communicate to you what he hears of his motions, and in his absence it will be absolutely necessary you keep a good correspondence with Guest, and in that view I have submitted to you and him, whether it would be proper for the regiment of dragoons to march from Edinburgh, which I own I think cannot be done, unless you are free of any danger; though I think, if they were at Stirling, they could always come to Edinburgh before the rebels, march what way they would, could come there.

But, in short, as a day may make great alterations, the persons on the spot must determine in cases of necessity what is proper to be done, without waiting for orders from a distance. I know and am sensible the difficult part you have to act, and hitherto I think you have acted with spirit and prudence. As to the town of Edinburgh, a great deal will depend upon the right

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choice of persons to command and the foot they intend to raise for their own defence. I must at the same time observe that I think their newspapers are in some expressions very indecent. "Insurgents," is not a proper name for the "rebels," and I think it would be right for the magistrates to give a caution to the printers of the newspapers what they write at this time. The justice clerk has not wrote to me of late. I do not know if he wrote to anybody by the last express, but by the two former he only wrote to the Duke of Argyll, whom I have not yet seen. He keeps his house, not being well. I think your friend, John Maule, lóoks a little down upon it.

I do not think, come what will, it will be possible for me to despatch to you any express with any orders before Monday night or Tuesday morning, since all our great men will be till that time out of town. I must acquaint you that the Earl of Stair and I have perfectly agreed in all our notions since the first of this alarm. I have shown him all your letters, and you are at present in great favour with him.

Adieu! I do not know if I formerly mentioned to you that, besides the Dutch that are coming over, there are ten battalions of our own troops ordered over from Flanders. We expect to hear of the emperor's being over by the next mail, and it is unlucky, at this juncture, to be obliged to send for any of our troops from Flanders.

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The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 7th September, 1745.

MY LORD:—I have received yours of the 2d instant, as also this day yours of the 3d, both by express, all which I have laid before the king, who was well pleased with the zeal expressed by the inhabitants of the city of Edinburgh for their own defence and the support of his government at this critical juncture, and I hope you would receive in due time the warrant empowering them to levy men according to their desire. His Majesty was likewise well pleased to find that all the boats had been brought to the south side of the Forth, which must necessarily tend to retard the progress of the rebels, should they attempt to come that way.

I find by Sir John Cope's letter to me, of the 29th of August, from Inverness, that he does not appear then to have known that the rebels had gone toward the south, and had reached Blair; and I am apt to believe that they were forced to take that route on the king's army drawing near them; as they had no other choice but either to do so, or to retire to their own camp behind the forts. What steps Sir John will next pursue I do not know; nor, indeed, is it possible to give him any orders; but he must now be left to act as he shall be advised by those who are well acquainted with that part of the country, as circumstances

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occur, and as it may be best for his Majesty's service.

As little can I judge what steps the rebels will take; but I should imagine that as the Dutch regiment will probably be arrived before this can reach you, that this regiment, with the two regiments of dragoons, properly conducted, will probably stop their progress till Sir John Cope, who will be in their rear with his troops, comes up with them; and when I had the honour to be with his Majesty to-day, he thought it would be right that the regiment of dragoons now at Edinburgh should march to join the other at Stirling, as great danger always attends the dividing of troops into small parties. This you will mention to Mr. Guest, and if it can be done with security to the peace of the country and the town of Edinburgh, it ought to be quickly done.

I believe orders would have been sent immediately for another Dutch regiment to have been sent to Leith, had it not been the opinion of many here that the rebels might march directly into England, without coming near Edinburgh. Yesterday Lord Mark Kerr acquainted his Majesty that he was determined to set out to-morrow for Scotland, to take upon him his command of the Castle of Edinburgh. Orders have been sent out to Brigadier Fowkes in Yorkshire, to go immediately to Scotland to be assisting there, which is the more necessary, as probably Mr. Blakeney may

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be with Sir John Cope; and that we know General Guest's state of health, age, and infirmities will not allow him to take the field.

I observe by yours, that the intelligence Mr. Trevor sent over about passengers aboard of Pillans's ship has not proved true; however, I hope Mr. Pillans will be strictly examined in relation to what I formerly wrote you, when he carried over Mr. Blair. I am, my lord, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

Sir John Cope to the Lord Advocate.

BANFF, 9th September, 1745,
5 in the morning.

MY LORD:—Yesterday I received your lordship's letters of the 3d and 4th instant. In the first you are pleased rightly to observe that letters have been intercepted. I know they have been so both going and coming. You are pleased to observe, in your last letter, how necessary it is that you should frequently hear from me. I have written too often, since so many of my letters have fallen into the enemy's hands. I have sent them by post, by land, and by sea; by officers and others. If I had not known the communication was cut off I should have wondered at my not hearing oftener from Edinburgh and London. I am greatly concerned that Captain Rogers was not arrived at Edinburgh on the 4th instant, his despatches being of consequence.

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I do not doubt but you can very soon transport this army across the Forth; but neither this army, nor any other, can march a quarter so fast as I find has been expected by those at a distance from it. I marched from Inverness without a halt. As yet I have made no halt from Inverness, nor shall I make any, unless necessity require it, between this and Aberdeen, where I hope to be on Wednesday, and there, from the intelligence I shall receive of the enemy, I shall take the most probable resolution for success in following them, or possibly getting before them, southerly. The things I ordered by Captain Rogers to be sent me at Inverness I have taken care shall be stopped for me at Aberdeen.

As I know this letter will run a great risk in getting to your hands, I cannot explain my intentions in the manner I would do. Military persons, who know the countries I have gone through, may judge of the difficulties I met with in executing the strict orders I received to march to the chain. Your lordship shall hear from me as often as there is a probability of letters getting to you. Though damage may be done by the quickness of the march, which the Highlanders are much more able to make than we are, yet a solid body like ours must effectually get the better of them in the end. I hope it will be no small comfort to the king's friends (as it is some to me) that the army has not been lost, or much dis-

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tressed, in the several difficult passes we have gone through.

Be pleased to communicate the contents of this letter to the lord justice clerk, the solicitor-general, and General Guest; and that I may not swell the packet, I must desire you to send this, or a copy of it, by express to the Marquis of Tweeddale. His lordship will easily conceive the reason of my not writing to him directly, from the folding up of this in a narrow compass.

I am, etc., JOHN COPE.

Mr. James Fergusson to the Lord Advocate.

NEWINGTON, 9th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — My neighbour Robert Gordon, the younger, of Logie, who has spent most part of the summer in this place, intends to go north to-morrow to his father's house, which is within a few miles of mine. I beg your lordship will take the trouble to give him a pass for a boat to Kinghorn. The bearer, his servant, will deliver it.

I am always, my lord, etc.,

JAMES FERGUSSON.

Mr. Gabriel Napier to the Lord Advocate.

STIRLING, 9th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — I had yours of the 8th, which I communicated to General Blakeney, and, according to your directions, the five gentlemen and their two servants are secured in the castle of

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Stirling. I must also observe to your lordship, that I have got further information about Mr. Thomas Drummond, of his being with the rebels, and came only back by the ford of the Frew to Leckie's house on Wednesday night about twelve, and set out thence on Thursday morning, for Edinburgh, on a horse of Leckie's; and, it seems, was conductor of the other four gentlemen back to Leckie's house, and no doubt to the rebels afterward. I am also informed that the horse which Mr. Forbes rode on was got from my Lady Bruce, who lives in the citadel of Leith, and the other five horses are Edinburgh hacks. Please let me know by your next if the horses shall be returned to their proper owners, or how to be disposed of.

I am sorry to tell your lordship that all here are at a very great loss for the want of intelligence, and nobody will advance a sixpence but what I have done myself; so that if your lordship thinks fit to put money in my hand, or any other person's, for the good of the public service, I assure your Lordship it shall be faithfully applied. I have the pleasure to tell you that the hundred men that I procured arms and ammunition for are of more service to the government in keeping guard at proper places, and seizing suspected persons travelling, than as many foot of the regular troops, for they know the country passes and fords; and as all the boats are taken off the

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Stirling Castle.

Photo-etching after the painting by Bibby.

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Forth, they have fallen on a new invention of making floats, by tying trees together, and coming over about two miles above this; and their very guards have seized a country fellow that came over this morning for intelligence, and he now lies in prison.

Our friends here are not without great fears for the want of troops, in case the rebels pass at the head of the Forth, by which they will put the country in the utmost danger; and as it is the opinion of all gentlemen that I converse with, either of the army or those who knew the rebels' conduct in 1715, that if there were another regiment of dragoons and one of foot, they would not attempt to pass the Forth; and if Sir John Cope, with his army, were once safe here, they would be in a condition even to march north and disperse them, for I am persuaded they never would stand against such an army. I thought it my duty to hint this to your lordship, and to submit it to your lordship, and to such as the government trust with the conduct and management of the army, to advise such courses as you may think proper; and I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken in hinting what I think proper for the public service, which proceeds from my zeal and good affection for the government.

I am not able to bear the fatigues now that I did in 1715, but my good inclination is the same for his Majesty's service. I beg to know of your

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lordship if you received a letter from me of the 25th of August, from Craigannet, with one in it from old Glengyle, anent his son, because I never got any answer. I ordered it to be sent your lordship by post. I beg your lordship to run an express to General Blakeney so soon as the troops land, which will give courage to our friends, and intimidate our enemies, for I am afraid their intelligence is better than ours. Excuse this long letter from, my lord, etc., GABRIEL NAPIER.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

(Extract.)

10th September, 1745.

His Majesty approves of your providing shipping, according to the general's (Sir John Cope's) desire; and if it be impracticable to come with his army in the Low Country any other way, no doubt he must follow his own idea, whatever objections there may appear to us to it, as he is upon the spot, and can best judge from circumstances what is most expedient for his Majesty's service.

If the Dutch troops are not already arrived in Scotland, it must only be occasioned by the winds being contrary; and orders are despatched for four more Dutch battalions going their immediately, the arrival of which I hope will effectually put a stop to the progress of the rebels. We shall have immediately, in this part of the kingdom, a very considerable body of troops drawn together.

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The manning two Kinghorn boats, to be assistant in preventing the rebels from passing the Forth, is approved of here; and more may be employed in the same service, since force ought to be used to keep the shipping on the south side, in case other means do not prevail.

Early this morning I received yours with the enclosed from my Lord President, which you were in the right to open. I hope you have, long before this, got the warrant you have desired, and I make no doubt the well-affected inhabitants of the town of Edinburgh will, on this extraordinary emergency, exert themselves with zeal and vigour in their own defence and that of the government.

I am surprised I have heard nothing from the town of Glasgow, who have formerly given such strong proofs of their zeal, what they are concerting at this time. I have formerly hinted to you that it was not imagined here any warrant can be necessary, when there is an actual rebellion, for empowering people to arm themselves in defence of their own liberties, their king, and country.

This day the city of London and Common Council presented their most loyal address to his Majesty.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 10th September, 1745.

MY LORD:—I transmit to you the enclosed letters for the president and Sir John Cope, into

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which, after reading them, you will please to drop some wax under the seals, and to forward them. They are left open that you may know what orders or hints are given to either of them, and thereby be enabled to advise consistently with the views his Majesty's servants have of that affair; for it is not doubted that you take every opportunity to let the president and Sir John Cope know the state of matters with you, as it may be of great use for the public service at this juncture.

The enclosed anonymous paper was given by the Earl of Harrington to my Lord Marquis, and is not to be neglected at this time. Your lordship will take the proper method to examine into the truth of the suggestion. I believe Mr. Young is known to you. He has a small estate in Aberdeenshire, and is a Roman Catholic of very moderate principles. I was first acquainted with him at Paris, and I believe he is an honest man. I know he was obnoxious to the Jacobites for his lukewarmness; and I cannot help suspecting that the information proceeds more from malice, and the resentment of some secret enemy, than from any desire to serve the government; and I dare say Mr. Young will, upon the least hint from you, open every lock he has. He went to Scotland in April or May last, in company with Mr. Hope, of Rankeillour.

Sir John Cope's march to Inverness has greatly surprised everybody here, and the scheme of em-

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barking his troops will not fail to amaze so soon as it shall be publicly known. Many have doubts whether it would not be better even to march by the coast-road, than to venture a sea-voyage at this uncertain equinoctial season. His going by land would have this effect, — to prevent any motion in the counties of Murray, Banff, Aberdeen, Mearns, and Angus, if any such is intended; but as this scheme of embarking is his own thought, he is left at liberty to execute it or not as he pleases.

I mentioned to you formerly what I had heard as your opinion. I have since had a more distinct account of it, viz., that it was not lawful to arm the militia; and that this being harvest-time, it was not proper to call them forth. You may judge how some people are put to it for a defence of their conduct, when they lay hold of this to justify their want of zeal and of action. I do not see what other opinion could be given, as there are no lord-lieutenants to call forth the militia; nor can that opinion ever be strained to imply that in actual rebellion the raising men and joining the king's troops, and receiving arms from his general, to be made use of in defence of the established government, can be high treason, notwithstanding c. 5, Parl. 1st, Charles II., which is the only act I know of upon which this opinion can be founded. But it has been artfully spread that the 1st of George I., for disarming the Highlanders, makes it high

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treason, etc., though the penalty in the act is only pecuniary, and leviable by the king's judges or justices of the peace.

Many and severe are the reflections thrown out by some people for not making the lieutenants of the southern counties of Scotland assemble the militia, which, say they, is the only constitutional force we have; though, in my own opinion, I am persuaded that neither the lord-lieutenants nor the militia could be of any real use; yet I cannot help wishing that a nomination was made, because I fear the clamour will be raised so high that, supposing any misfortune to happen, and an inquiry to be made in the House of Commons about it, I do not think it improbable that the whole miscarriage may be imputed to the want of lord-lieutenants.

Pray write your opinion about this freely. I have given mine perhaps foolishly. I believe this institution of lord-lieutenants was borrowed from England. It is said that Admiral Vernon has despatched Admiral Byng after some men-of-war that slipped out of Dunkirk, so I hope there be no danger from them though they should go northward.

A. M.

Copy of an Anonymous Letter.

FOREST'S COFFEE-HOUSE, CHARING CROSS,
7th September, 1745.

SIR: — As I am a well-wisher to his Majesty King George's person and family, to my country,

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and the Protestant succession, I find myself obliged to let you know a thing I am sure and certain of, which is that one who resides at present in Edinburgh, whose name is Peter Young (a Roman Catholic, who was formerly in priest's orders in Paris, and was preceptor to Mr. Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth, and to his brother, and was lately about the Marquis of Annandale and my Lord Stafford in London, and went down, for no good, to Scotland the beginning of the summer), — I say, sir, this same man is employed by the Pretender's son as one of his emissaries, and has sent up to London several of his manifestos, of which there is a great number at his lodgings at Edinburgh, and he employs printers in garrets there and others to disperse them in London amongst his acquaintance, and they drop them down in people's areas of their houses. This I am morally certain of, for a proof of which let only just information be made of this person, and first of all his lodgings searched, where will be found what I have already mentioned.

I don't know this person as much as by sight, but I am informed he frequented the Smyrna Coffee-house in Pall Mall, and was very great with one Mr. Mitchell, who I think they say is under-secretary of state for Scotland, who no doubt can give an account of his particular abode in Edinburgh. Though I make no scruple of being an informer where there is question of his

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Majesty's service, yet I choose to conceal my name for the present, but shall wait on you as soon as this person is seized.

In the meantime I shall do all I can to learn every other thing that may make the project of the rebels prove abortive, and am, most sincerely, sir, YOUR UNKNOWN SERVANT.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 12th September, 1745.

MY LORD:—Yesterday morning I received yours of the 7th instant, with the intelligence enclosed, which I laid before the king. By it I think it appears that the rebels are not so considerable, nor so well armed as was imagined; though, at the same time, I am sensible they may be too strong to be resisted till more troops are got together, which I hope cannot fail of happening soon, as the wind is now fair for the Dutch troops to arrive in Scotland; and that it is to be hoped Sir John Cope with his army will very soon be in a situation to make head against them, and the rather as the rebels seem not yet to have concerted any scheme, nor in any very good condition to execute one.

I am extremely sorry to find some persons you mention have joined them, and you may be assured that those who have, and others who may embark in this desperate, mad attempt, will sufficiently

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repent of their folly when they come to think seriously of it. I send you down, here enclosed, two warrants for the towns of Aberdeen and Glasgow; and I have at the same time sent the warrant to Sir John Cope, or, in his absence, to General Guest, for arms, etc., to these towns, which he will communicate to you. I was very glad to hear of the opinion you and the solicitor had given to the magistrates of Edinburgh before the warrant for them had reached you, as it can never be thought that, in cases of extreme danger and actual rebellion, there can be any penalty for taking up arms in defence of our properties and the support of the government; on the contrary, such as do deserve particular marks of his Majesty's favour.

I have this day seen Sir James Grant, who has laid before me such information against Alexander Grant, of Shenglie, in Urquhart, that a warrant should be immediately issued for seizing him, and the execution thereof may be put into the hands of Grant, Deputy-Governor of Inverness. It will be particularly necessary that it be recommended to him to make a narrow search for any letters or papers he may have about him when seized, or in his house. I am, etc.,

TWEEDDALE

P. S. — The address from the town of Edinburgh was presented by the Duke of Grafton, the

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Duke of Argyll, ever since his arrival here, having been so much indisposed that he has not yet stirred abroad. I don't trouble you with foreign news, nor have I, having so many other things to mind, so much as taken any notice to you of the emperor's election.

Mr. Gabriel Napier to the Lord Advocate.

STIRLING, 12th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — I wrote to you by express this morning about one o'clock in some hurry, we having got an alarm that first a party and then the body of the rebels were come to Dumblane. Town, camp, and castle were all prepared to do their best for their defence, the whole being under arms all night; and this morning came in three of our soldiers who had been taken prisoners, who owned they were obliged to take up with the rebels, which procured them credit, and so took an opportunity of deserting last night at Dumblane. They are gone up to the castle to be examined by the general, so I cannot write to you by the bearer any particulars, but that the deserters told the guard there that the rebels, in and about Dumblane, are about four thousand five hundred.

The bearer was sent express from General Cope to Colonel Gardiner, and by stratagems got through the rebels. I beg a speedy answer to my last, if not complied with already, for we expect an attack

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soon, or that they will march by the heads of the Forth. I am in haste, etc.,

GABRIEL NAPIER.

P. S. — I am told all the gentlemen in the rebel army came last night to Dumblane, as did their prince.

The Provost of Glasgow to the Lord Advocate.

GLASGOW, 12th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have the honour of your lordship's of yesterday, and of this day by express, and am greatly obliged to you for your care and concern about our town. No doubt the king's troops will retard and harass them on their march as much as they are able. God grant Sir John Cope were soon on this side, and the Dutch arrived. We are of ourselves altogether defenceless. Heaven send us a deliverance.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, etc.,

AND. COCHRANE.

The Provost of Glasgow to the Lord Advocate.

GLASGOW, 13th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — We have intelligence from all quarters that the rebels are to pass the Forth this day, and come this way. I am, in the name of this community, to beg your lordship's interest with General Guest, that he would order the two regiments of dragoons to form and march for our

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relief. We have a number of inhabitants all hearty for the government, but without arms. I submit to your lordship if any could be sent us, in which case we could assist the king's troops.

Our case is extremely pitiable, and we rely on your lordship's protection.

I am, most respectfully, my lord, etc.,

AND. COCHRANE.

Address of Prince Charles to the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh.

13th September, 1745.

I need not inform you of my having come hither, nor of my view in coming; that is already sufficiently known. All those who love their country, and the true interest of Britain, ought to wish for my success, and to do what they can to promote it. It would be a needless repetition to tell you that all the privileges of your town are included in my declaration, and what I have promised I will never depart from. I hope this is your way of thinking, and therefore expect your compliance with my demands.

A sum of money, besides what is due to the government, not exceeding £15,000 sterling, and whatever arms can be found in your city, is at present what I require. The terms offered you are very reasonable, and what I promise to make

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good. I choose to make these demands, but if not complied with, I shall take other measures, and you must be answerable for the consequences.

CHARLES P. R.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 14th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — I had the favour of yours of the 10th, which gave me great satisfaction, as it contained a thorough justification of your conduct and opinion from the aspersions and misrepresentations of your enemies.

I have heard it avowed, and your letter to Lord G. quoted as a proof of it, that you had given it under your hand that it was high treason for subjects to take up arms, even in the case of an actual rebellion, without the king's leave. But as I see that a certain great man, finding this opinion not tenable, has thought proper to saddle you with it, it would at this time be of the greatest importance to know before whom, and upon what occasions, that great man did declare "that it was contrary to law to put arms into the hands of subjects." What makes something of this sort the more necessary is, that it has been artfully insinuated here that the non-activity of the Whig clans has been owing to this opinion being publicly known, whereas it is plain that it has been solely owing to the example set them by one who has been ac-

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customed to lead, and whose authority has been so great that it has hitherto been a crime to differ in opinion only.

We have no news. What I mentioned to you formerly of some men-of-war and transports having slipped out of Dunkirk, and been followed by Admiral Byng, is, I find, not true, so there is nothing to be apprehended from that quarter. The address of the city of Edinburgh was presented to the king by the Duke of Grafton, his Grace of Argyll not having yet appeared at court, notwithstanding what you will read in the *Gazette* of this night.

The address of the Merchant Company, I believe, really pleased his Majesty, for I take it to be agreeable to his own sentiments. It is of all misfortunes the greatest to be defended by an unskilful advocate. This I could verify to you in the case of a great man, to whom you are not much obliged. His emissary varies and changes his defence as often as he does his linen.

I am, my lord, etc., ANDR. MITCHELL.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 14th September, 1745.

MY LORD:—This morning I received your lordship's of the 10th instant, by express, which I immediately laid before the king, who was very well pleased with the contents of it, and entirely approves your conduct in every particular, espe-

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cially in that of bringing all the vessels to the south side of the Forth.

As the face of his Majesty's affairs with you seems to be greatly altered for the better, and that a laudable spirit for the support of his government has arisen, I flatter myself that upon the appearance of the transports from Holland, and Sir John Cope's coming around, a speedy end will be put to this mad and desperate attempt. I formerly mentioned both to you and Mr. Guest that, besides the Dutch regiment that was ordered to come forthwith, more were to follow them immediately, and therefore I hope General Guest has made the proper disposition for their quarters, too, against their arrival, which, if the wind continues fair may be daily expected.

The address of the Merchant Company of the city of Edinburgh I this day laid before the king, and I have myself wrote a letter to be communicated to the Company.

I am, with great regard, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. — Mr. Guest will no doubt communicate to you the letter he receives from me by this post. The enclosed memorandum was just now sent me by Mr. Pelham, which, though it contains nothing new, I transmit to you.

(Memorandum.)

"There is one John Stewart, *alias* John Roy,

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who formerly served, it is said, as quartermaster in the Scotch Greys. This man, after quitting the service, went to Rome with a recommendation from Lord Lovat. He lived there two years, and, by a recommendation from thence, he got a company in the French service. He went lately to Scotland; is a Highlander. He and Lord Lovat should both be looked after."

The Provost of Glasgow to the Lord Advocate.

GLASGOW, 15th September, 1745.

MY LORD:—I had the honour to inform your lordship yesterday that some of our people had been sent by the inhabitants to treat with the rebels. They are this morning come back to the town, having been no farther than Kilsyth, where they met with Mr. Cope, who dissuaded them from that step, in regard there was no present force near the town strong enough to justify treating in that manner. They took his advice and came back.

We are certainly informed that the rebels encamped last night a mile to the west of Falkirk, and they say (but we cannot assure this with the same certainty), that they have six or eight hundred Camerons and M'Donalds still lying at the Frow, waiting to join the Atholl men, who are still behind. This party they threaten to march in by Glasgow, in case we refuse their demands. We therefore beg your lordship's advice and protection, as far as it can consist with the public

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safety. We need not tell you the terrible situation we are in; I dare say your lordship feels for us.

I beg leave to commit the town to your lordship's protection, and desire your lordship's advice with all speed, because it is possible the Highlanders may be with us by to-morrow morning, if not this evening. I am, my lord, etc.,

AND. COCHRANE.

Mr. Robert Dick to the Lord Advocate.

QUEENSFERRY, 15th Sept., 1745.

MY LORD:—The whole shipping that was in our harbour is now taken out, and lies in the road, always afloat, and such of them as did not belong to the place are gone homewards.

It is talked here that the Highlanders are designed to encamp their main body on Seine Muir this night, and a party of them to be here to-night. A man, who was detained by them about two hours yesterday, says that they reckoned themselves betwixt four and five thousand strong, but says that they are generally ill-armed, and most of them naked, poor fellows. I am, etc.,

ROB DICK.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

[Extract.]

WHITEHALL, September 14–17, [1745].

This morning I received yours, and I am hopeful this rebellion is drawing near to an end. It

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will occasion the ruin of some particular persons, and has thrown great reflections upon our countrymen, and I am afraid may, in its consequences, do more real service to France than the gain of the battle at Fontenoy did. However, I am rejoiced to find there is a right spirit now beginning to show itself in Scotland; endeavours must be used to keep it alive.

The address of the Merchant Company is perfectly well worded, and I have thought proper to write a letter myself to them, which you will cause to be delivered as you shall judge proper. I heartily wish Michaelmas could put an end to our present provost's administration; it would be a great point gained could that be effectuated. Nothing, at this juncture, ought to hinder both you and the solicitor adding all your weight to effectuate it. How far it might be agreeable to some of my fellow servants here, I do not know; but I am sure our common master would be pleased, and it would be for his service. Let us have a Whig administration in the good town.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 17th September, 1745.

MY LORD:— You will receive letters for Sir John Cope and the president, which please seal and forward. My lord has wrote to the justice clerk in answer to a most pathetic letter of his, setting forth the agonies his Majesty's subjects are in for

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want of a legal authority to assemble, and arm in their own and in the defence of the government; but as the justice has not condescended to say what authority he thinks would be proper, my lord has very implicitly desired him to give his opinion plainly.

Your lordship will observe, in the warrant to the commander-in-chief for arms to the towns of Aberdeen and Glasgow, that your lordship and the justice clerk are to certify the number needful. This was done to prevent an abuse of that power, and he was joined with you only to prevent imputation of partiality, for you are at present no favourite with some people.

I am, my dear lord, yours, etc.,

A. M.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 17th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — Last Sunday evening I received yours of the 12th current, by express, in which you acquaint me that, the day before, the rebels had left Perth and marched westward; but, as I have had no express since, I flatter myself they have been able to make no great progress. We are equally impatient here, as you are in Scotland, to hear of the landing of the Dutch troops, which all the accounts from Holland give the strongest grounds to have expected before this time. We likewise flatter ourselves that Sir John Cope and

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the troops will be arrived in your neighbourhood before this can reach you.

The Channel is now so well guarded by different squadrons that we are under no apprehensions of a visit either from the French or Spaniards, should that ever have been their intention, though nothing can prevent a single ship passing in the night. I transmit to you a letter under a flying seal to the Provost of Glasgow, in relation to an information which I have received, and which I do not know whether you have heard of or not. I send this by post, having no particular directions to send. I am, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. — I just now heard that the three battalions of Dutch are arrived, having missed the sloop that was sent with orders for them to go to Scotland; but I hope that by this time the other regiment will be at Leith.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 17th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have made the proper use of yours of the 10th. It has satisfied every candid man I have met with. It is surprising how soon some people forget what they have said when it serves their purpose; but let the saddle be laid on the right horse, say I. Your conduct in general is approved by those whose approbation you value.

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I am in hopes the Highlanders are retreating to their own mountains, as it is now forty-eight hours and upwards since we heard of their motion from Perth. I am, dear sir, etc.,

A. M.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Provost of Glasgow.

WHITEHALL, 17th September, 1745.

SIR: — I have received information that, on Saturday, the 7th current, an English gentleman came to Glasgow, who had been with the Highland army, and when he was brought before you he prevaricated not a little, and by some letters he had in his pocket it appeared that he was a distiller in West Chester, and by a letter from his sister, which he also produced, she said it was believed by everybody there that he was gone to the Pretender, and he afterward acknowledged that his curiosity led him to see the man they called Prince Charles, and that he had been there and had seen him, and was going home about his business.

I desire you will forthwith acquaint me with the name of this English gentleman, not doubting that, if the above information be true, you have secured him, and given notice to my Lord Advocate, as his Majesty's service requires.

I am, sir, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

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Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

19th September, 1745.

My Lord: — As my Lord Marquis is this night at a Cabinet council, he has not time to write to you, nor has he any directions to transmit. You will easily believe that we are anxious to hear of Sir John Cope's arrival at Leith, and of the arrival of the Dutch regiment there. The three regiments, landed here, are ordered to march northward immediately, under the command of General Wentworth. The next embarkation are ordered to sail directly to Newcastle.

My lord wonders that General Guest does not write to him, though he has desired he would, and it is so necessary for his Majesty's service. Yesterday Mr. Blair was committed to Newgate by a warrant from my Lord Advocate, for high treason. He had been troublesome in the messenger's custody, and there was reason to believe that he would attempt to make his escape. As he will now take his trial, your lordship will consider what evidence can be brought against him.

The Parliament will meet on the 17th of October next. Mr. Weir arrived this morning from Scotland with a budget of lies. As my lord wrote to you last Saturday of a certain magistrate, I hope you will endeavour to make the scheme effectual. Every step he takes shows

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the necessity of the Whigs exerting themselves, or being enslaved by him.

Past 10 at night.

Just this moment the express is arrived with your letter of the 10th, from Huntington. I hope Sir John Cope will still be time enough from Dunbar to save the town, and hang somebody.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 20th September, 1745.

MY LORD:—I have received yours of the 14th instant from Edinburgh, as also, last night, yours of the 16th from Huntington, with the disagreeable news of the rebels being within three miles of Edinburgh, and in all probability in possession of that place that night. I own, I always did apprehend this event, if the rebels did march to, and could arrive near Edinburgh, before the Dutch troops came, or that Sir John Cope was arrived with his army from Aberdeen. However, it was some satisfaction to us to hear, at the same time, that Sir John Cope was so near with the army, and we flatter ourselves that, as he is now joined with the two regiments of dragoons, he will soon be able to drive the rebels from thence.

Probably you will have heard before this that the Dutch battalion, first ordered to Leith, had been forced by contrary winds into Burlington

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Bay. General Oglethorpe sets out for that place this evening, to march that battalion northward in case the winds have proved unfavourable for its proceeding by sea. The second embarkation of Dutch is arrived this day in the river, not having met the orders sent to them some time ago, for part of them to go to Newcastle; but orders are despatched to-night for two of the battalions to proceed, without disembarking, for Newcastle. We expect, to-morrow or next day, a large body of our own national troops here, as they were, by accounts of last mail, all embarked and ready to sail with the first wind. I have thus given you an account of the disposition making here for the defence of this part of the kingdom; and I pray God we may have better news from your parts than what we have had of late.

I wish General Blakeney may have found means to have left Stirling, and to have joined General Cope. You will easily judge what uneasiness we must be under here from what already has happened, and may yet happen in Scotland. I wish I could say we had as much reason to be satisfied with the conduct of all in Edinburgh as with yours. I think both you, the solicitor, and others, judged perfectly right in your present circumstances to leave Edinburgh, rather than to fall into the hands of the rebels, or shut yourselves up in the castle.

I send this under Sir John Cope's cover,

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which I direct to the care of the postmaster at Berwick.

I am, with great truth, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 20th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — I have heard with the deepest concern of the shameful fate of Edinburgh. When shall our country be able to wipe off this infamous stain? This is no time to make particular reflections. I shall inform you afterward of some things that will surprise you. In general, it gives me great pleasure that your conduct and behaviour is approved by everybody that is at all informed, or rather by everybody that is not misinformed.

My lord has wrote you of what is doing here. My compliments most affectionately to all the brethren that are with you, and who are fellow sufferers. I am ever yours, etc.,

A. M.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to Mr. Thomas Hay.

WHITEHALL, 24th September, 1745,
one o'clock in the morning.

DEAR SIR: — It is hardly to be imagined what a great consternation the news of Sir John Cope's defeat [1] has occasioned. It is indeed an event that

[1] At Preston Pans.

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may have great consequences, and ruinous ones, to our country; but since the people of England will never suffer themselves to be plundered and enslaved by a handful of Highland banditti, what has happened will rouse the lethargic spirit of the nation, and kindle a zeal that shall consume the rebels.

Ten battalions are already arrived from Flanders, and some of them will march directly. Pray let me know what you hear of our friends that were in the battle, for I delay writing till we have more particular accounts. I fear this success will occasion many to declare, who otherwise would have remained quiet. I most heartily sympathise with you, and every honest man of Scotland, who must henceforth bear the imputation of guilt, at least till the affair of Edinburgh is cleared up.

I am, dear sir, etc.,

A. M.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 24th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — Your letter of the 21st, which arrived early this morning, gave the deepest concern to all the friends and well-wishers of his Majesty's government. The loss is indeed great, and the distress and misery that this success of the rebels must occasion will be lasting in our country; but the misfortune is not irretrievable, and I hope such measures are already concerted

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as will very soon stop the progress of the rebels, and raise a spirit which has hitherto been wanting in the friends of the government.

My lord has wrote to you about conveying orders to the commanding officer in the Castle of Edinburgh, and desired that you will concert with Lord Mark Kerr upon that affair; but in case any private method of performing that service should occur to you or the solicitor-general, which perhaps you may not think proper to communicate, you will not fail to put it in execution, let the expense be what it will, as the service is of the last importance, and I need not suggest to your lordship that all possible methods should be tried. If the order to the commanding officer should fall into the enemy's hands, it can be of no bad consequence, and therefore they having a number of duplicates will be very proper. If it was not for the difficulty of corresponding with Edinburgh, I have no doubt that there are many, even of those that are connected with the rebels, that would for a sum of money attempt this service; but of this your lordship can best judge.

We are very anxious for a detail of the late action, for it is some consolation to know how a misfortune happened, and you may believe that those who have relations in the regiments that are in Scotland will be in great pain to know what is their fate. I am sorry to find that the troops have not behaved well. They are all new men, but a

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few old soldiers mixed with them would have enabled them to withstand the furious onset of the Highland rebels, whose attack has more of the appearance than of the reality of danger in it. The dragoons have no excuse but that they are from Ireland. I am in great uneasiness about the volunteers; I hope few of them have been hurt.

As I have observed that some people have varied prodigiously in the numbers they gave out of the Highland rebels, just as it served their purpose at the time to injure those they wanted to destroy, I think it will be of very great use to ascertain, as far as possible, the numbers of the rebels at different times. Commissary Roberts's account of the rebels when they entered Atholl is exact. The accounts of those who numbered them in Perth may likewise be depended upon; but then we want to know, First, How many they were when they left Perth? Second, When they crossed the fords of Forth? Third, When they entered Edinburgh? and, Fourth, What was their number at the battle? I mean of Highlanders, for I will not suppose there were others on that side. I have mentioned this to your lordship, because I find it is a topic made use of against you, and some of your friends here, with more success than I would have imagined; and it is a pity, when one is acting an honest and sincere part, not to be able to make it appear.

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I hope your lordship has already had full proof of the conduct of the managers of the town of Edinburgh. I can neither sleep, eat, nor be easy till this stain is wiped off the nation. I am ashamed to own myself what I am, for I can neither deny nor contradict the bold assertions of universal perfidy, etc., till the guilt is laid on those who ought to bear it. I heartily wish you and my country a speedy deliverance from the present misery and oppression. You, my lord, have the comfort that you have acted an honest and a steady part, and the world is sensible of it.

I ever am, with sincere sympathy and affection,

Yours, etc.

P. S. — 25th of September, one o'clock, afternoon. The council having sat very late last night, the bearer, Mr. Lucas, one of his Majesty's messengers, could not be despatched till this day. He carries packets for Lord Mark Kerr, General Cope, and your lordship. When you despatch him to London, you will give them notice to have their letters ready. I hope your lordship will be safe at Berwick; if otherwise, I think you should move southwards. Pray employ people, as you have occasion, to find out the facts and numbers I have hinted at, and, if possible, let their declarations be of such a nature that they may not have it in their power to retract or deny them.

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The Marquis of Tweeddale to Lord Mark Kerr.

WHITEHALL, 25th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — I had the honour of your lordship's letter from Berwick, which I have laid before the king.

As the security and preservation of the Castle of Edinburgh is of the utmost importance, I am commanded by his Majesty to signify to you that you send orders to the commanding officer in the said castle, to declare to the magistrates and inhabitants of the town that, if they do not furnish him with such provisions as shall be necessary for the garrison, he will distress and annoy them by all the means in his power; particularly by destroying the reservoir which supplies the town with water, and even cannonading the town from the castle.

I have desired his Majesty's advocate and solicitor to be assisting to your lordship in conveying these orders, as they are well acquainted with the country, and have many connections and friends in and about Edinburgh. I am extremely sorry for what has happened to the king's troops, but I hope proper measures will soon be taken to retrieve the misfortune. I have the honour to be, etc., TWEEDDALE.

P. S. — I know I need not mention to your lordship the necessity of keeping this order secret.

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The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 25th September, 1745.

MY LORD:—Yours of the 21st instant from Haddington, which I received early yesterday morning, brought us the first unexpected account of the defeat of the forces under the command of Sir John Cope by the rebels. The security and preservation of the Castle of Edinburgh being of the utmost importance to his Majesty's service at this juncture, I have, in pursuance of his Majesty's command, wrote this day to Lord Mark Kerr, that he send orders to the commanding officer in Edinburgh Castle, that he declare to the magistrates and inhabitants of the town that, if they do not furnish him with such provisions as shall be necessary for the garrison, he will distress and annoy them by every means in his power; particularly by destroying the reservoir which supplies the town with water, and even by cannonading the town from the castle. You and the solicitor will consult with Lord Mark Kerr, as to the most proper method for conveying these orders to the commandant of the castle, and more methods than one should be attempted.

Ten battalions of British troops from Flanders landed here on the 23d, and measures are concerting for sending a large body of troops to the North, and reserving another body here for security of the government. I apprehend the town

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of Berwick to be a very proper place for you and the solicitor to stay in, till the face of affairs in the North take a better turn.

I am, with the greatest regard, etc.,

TWEEDDALE.

P. S. — Your lordship and the solicitor will easily see that this order concerning the castle should be kept very secret.

Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 26th September, 1745.

MY LORD: — As we hear by letters of the 23d from Berwick, that Lord Mark Kerr was set out for London, my lord desires me to acquaint you that he hopes, before this comes to hand, that you will have received the order about the Castle of Edinburgh, which you will intimate to the commanding officer there, as an order of his Majesty signified to you by the Marquis of Tweeddale. Everybody here is anxious about the fate of the castle, and reports are spread that it is but ill-provided with provisions, etc. I hope these reports are not true, but your lordship must know what is in this affair.

I take the liberty to send, under your cover, a letter for Mrs. Young, who is now at Berwick, with the Countess of Stair. Captain Young informs me that it contains a letter of credit for her

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ladyship. There are two more letters which I likewise recommend to your care.

The council has sat very late. My lord does not write; it is now past one in the morning. My compliments and services to all the distressed. I have been in extreme misery and confusion, since I heard of the fate of Edinburgh.

I am, etc., A. M.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

WHITEHALL, 28th September, 1745.

MY LORD:— Since my last to you of the 25th, despatched by a messenger, I have received yours of the 23d, from Berwick. Every one here is convinced of the necessity there now is of sending a very consideralbe body of troops to the North, so that his Majesty's forces may not run the risk of another defeat; and, accordingly, several battalions and squadrons are now on their march that way, and are to be commanded by Marshal Wade.

You will easily judge that, as the defeat of Sir John Cope's army was quite unexpected here, it is not possible that such a number of troops as are now requisite could be so soon sent northward as now could be wished. However, you may depend upon it no time will be lost. What gives us great concern is, the account we now hear of the small quantity of provisions lodged in the Castle of Edinburgh, and therefore I hope no pains or

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expense will be spared in what I recommended to you in my last of the 25th. I should think it not impossible, if proper methods be used, to get small quantities of meal sent in, from time to time, in the night; and it is to be hoped those who have their effects there will do all in their power for that purpose. I have, to-night, mentioned this affair in my letter to Sir John Cope. As to other matters, he will at present receive directions from others. As to what you mention, in relation to the sending such a force into Edinburgh as may probably recover possession of the town, in case the rebels should leave it, that must depend upon circumstances.

I am sorry to find, by some accounts, that the town of Berwick itself is thought to be in some danger. Should the rebels get possession of that place also, I apprehend that would be a most fatal blow, and therefore I hope it will be defended to the utmost extremity. Orders are despatched to Flanders for bringing over eight battalions more of foot and some regiments of dragoons. In your last you mention that you and the solicitor are staying at Berwick till you should hear from me. As the Parliament is now to meet soon, I think it will be proper for you to come here; and I should likewise be very glad to see the solicitor here; but then I foresee the inconveniency there will be to have nobody at Berwick, or that neighbourhood, to give me intelligence of what may be

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passing in Scotland, or to receive the necessary orders his Majesty may have occasion to send from hence; and, therefore, I own I would advise his staying at Berwick as long as he can safely do it

I am, etc., TWEEDDALE.

General Guest to the Lord Advocate.

Sunday, 29th September [1745], 12 o'clock.

SIR:—I have yours, with his Majesty's commands, concerning the Castle and town of Edinburgh. I have not yet had any occasion to quarrel with the town, for they suffer everything to come in and go out unmolested. I was forced, about a week ago, to let the provost know that, if they hindered me from obtaining anything for my money, I should be forced to treat them in the manner yours mentions. They threaten to storm the place with scaling-ladders; but as I have four hundred good men, and we never go to bed, I hope I shall be able to prevent any surprise, and I think nothing else can hurt me.

Our officers, who were taken prisoners at the battle, were sent this morning to Perth, and they are to cross the Firth where the enemy did, four miles above Stirling. They were ordered last night to set out this morning at six. The private men were sent the day before, and the wounded are left in the infirmary.

Captain Beaver suffers none to pass nor repass

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from Leith to the Queen's Ferry. I can take any one into the garrison that comes under the wall from the West Kirk, or that comes straight to the Castle Gate in the daytime. Depend on it, no care shall be wanting in my doing my duty, as long as life remains in, sir,

Your faithful servant,

Jos. Guest.

The Marquis of Tweeddale to the Lord Advocate.

Whitehall, 4th October, 1745.

My Lord:—I have received yours of the 1st of October. The letters addressed to the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Stair, and myself, are all in the same style, and are signed by a committee of the inhabitants of the town of Edinburgh the 30th of September, to which I have received no orders to return any answer, but send you here enclosed a letter to the commanding officer of the Castle of Edinburgh, which you will endeavour to get conveyed to him in the safest manner you can, though I own I am afraid it may be difficult, as I find by the letter from the committee that all the avenues to the castle are guarded by armed men; however, it must be attempted if possible.

This messenger carries likewise a packet to Sir John Cope, which contains also a letter in the same style, and which he has received his Majesty's orders from me to send directly, by a flying packet, to the commanding officer in the castle,

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however probable it is that it will fall into the hands of the rebels. It is now very late, and I have nothing further to write at this time but that

I am, etc., TWEEDDALE.

Mr. George Drummond to the Solicitor-General.

BERWICK, 7th October, 1745.

MY DEAR SIR:—The intelligence since mine of last night is that, on Friday evening, under the favour of the smoke of a smart firing from the castle, the garrison cut a breach quite across the hill, half-way down to the houses, sixteen feet deep and fourteen broad. They finished it by next day. The fire of two hundred men, who were posted there, cleared the way leading to the hill, and gave room for their getting in thirty-nine nine-gallon brees of two-penny bread, some water from the cistern, and twenty cows. Of a detachment, who were crawling up the south side of the hill from the castle wind to dislodge them, three guns from the castle killed about twenty of them. Our people retired into the castle coolly, without the loss of a man. On Sunday morning they had withdrawn their guard from the weigh-house and their sentries from the hill.

Glenbucket and Lord Ogilvie came into Edinburgh on Friday with seven hundred men. They have ordered half a crown in the pound, of the valued rents of Edinburgh, to be paid in to-day,

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on pain of military execution, and talk of leaving Edinburgh on their way south to-morrow.

I am, the advocate's, Sir John Inglis's, and your most humble servant,

G. DRUMMOND.

The Solicitor-General Dundas to the Lord Advocate.

ALNWICK, 19th October, 1745.

MY LORD:—I was glad just now to hear by Mitchell that you had got safe to London. I wrote last post to the marquis that the rebels had got into Edinburgh, where they remained when we got the last accounts, but what they design next we know not. They gather together prodigious numbers of horses from all quarters, and I am told they sent notice to Lady Hopetown, in my lord's absence, to prepare for them in two days no less than one hundred. There is something odd in this, and looks as if they intended a long journey; but I leave your lordship and others to conjecture what may be their intentions.

I offer my compliments to Sir Charles Gilmour, when you have occasion to see him. Let me know when you see him,

I am, your lordship's, etc., RO. DUNDAS.

The Solicitor-General Dundas to the Lord Advocate.

BERWICK, 1st November, 1745.

MY LORD:—I have had the favour of your lordship's letters, and I heartily wish you may all

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agree in Parliament, for divisions there at present I find greatly encourage the common enemy.

The substance of the intelligence that I have lately got from Edinburgh is that the Duke of Perth, Lord Ogilvie, and Glenbucket's men, with about a thousand who came yesterday from Atholl and part of the Duke of Gordon's estate, were all at Dalkeith yesterday; that they had likewise brought there from Mussleburgh the cannon they had taken from Sir John Cope; and that late last night other six pieces of brass cannon (which had been landed out of one of the ships that came to the north country) were likewise brought there, and along with them twelve or sixteen Frenchmen whom they call engineers; and likewise several loaded wagons, partly loaded with biscuit, and partly with other baggage.

At the same time, I cannot believe that they have got a great quantity of arms, because they sent several carts, loaded with arms they had taken in the country, which were given to this new recruit of men, when they came to the south side of the Forth, which it is sure they would not have done if they had had arms along with them. There were several other carts waiting last night in the Abbey Closs at eight o'clock, when my informer came away, which it was said was to carry more baggage to Dalkeith, where it is given out their whole army is to rendezvous, and where their P—— was expected last night or this morn-

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ing. Their artillery now consists of thirteen pieces of cannon, which are placed in Dalkeith Park, upon the point between the two waters.

As to their numbers, I am assured that, with this addition, they have not quite six thousand Highlanders, and the Low Country people will not make them up to seven thousand. They have already pressed several thousand horses; for what purpose we cannot yet tell, but time will soon discover it. The leaders carefully conceal from their men the army that is coming against them, and make them believe it is no more than a parcel of militia, with a very few regular troops. They are in vast terror since the men-of-war came upon the coast, and in a continual alarm lest any people should be landed from on board of them. I have some suspicion that this is partly the reason of their moving to Dalkeith.

I have several things to write to your lordship, but at present I cannot find time, as the express which carries this is hastening away, and I would not omit to inform you of the intelligence we have got, of which I have sent fuller copies to the marquis, which no doubt you may see when you please, but I have told you the substance of the whole. I will only say one thing, that if the rebels do march from Edinburgh, either to the south or north, I shall think it absolutely necessary that some troops should be sent to Edinburgh; and as your lord-

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ship is upon the place from whence these directions must come, I beg you would consider it. I have mentioned it already to the marquis.

I am, with great regard, etc.,

RO. DUNDAS.

The Lord Advocate to the Hon. Lawrence Craigie.

LONDON, Saturday, 7 at night.

DEAR BROTHER: — I wrote to-day to Charlie the intelligence of yesterday, but this afternoon it has been believed all over the town that the duke is still in pursuit of the rebels, — that he has been joined by Marshal Wade's cavalry, and has come up with the rear of the rebels, who surrendered without fighting. I have not been abroad to-day, and therefore cannot say the intelligence is certain. One thing is true, that the duke is not arrived, as it was expected he would have done by yesterday's accounts. I am yours,

ROB. CRAIGIE.

The Lord Advocate to the Hon. Lawrence Craigie.

LONDON, 12th December, 1745.

DEAR BROTHER: — I have yours of the 5th, and I formerly acknowledged the receipt of your letters with respect to the Indemnifying Bill, in which there were several hints of matters omitted by the lords of session. I believe, now that Mr. Hume Campbell has deserted his bill, we shall make it

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more decent for the court, and more useful to the lieges.

I am sorry for the accounts you give of the dismal situation of affairs in Perthshire, and that even in Perthshire matters are not in a settled state. I hope they will not turn out so bad as is apprehended, and that the rebels will not adventure to pay you another visit.

The accounts of these in England have been very uncertain since Sunday. His Majesty said yesterday, at his levee, that he hoped his son would get up with them. The uncertainty is easily accounted for. They march mostly in the night, and the country through which they pass is in such a panic that, until they are a good while past them, nobody ventures to come with intelligence for fear of being abused by parties they suspect are following. These two days past it has been the universal opinion that they were retiring to Scotland, either to meet their friends assembled in Perthshire, or to winter there. But to-day I saw a letter from a gentleman of Shrewsbury, dated Monday last, bearing that two expresses had arrived there that day in the forenoon from Newcastle-under-Line, who said that they (the rebels) came to Newcastle on Sunday about four in the afternoon, and that on Monday morning they had set out on the road to Shrewsbury. The letter adds that the ladies had left Shrewsbury on the news, and that everybody was pack-

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ing up their effects in order to their being removed. If so, their intention is for Wales.

I am yours, etc.,

ROB. CRAGIE.

The Lord Advocate to the Hon. Baron Craigie.

(Extract.)

LONDON, 21st December, 1745.

I have none of yours for some posts. Little now occurs here except what you have in the daily papers. Yesterday we had an express from Lord Malton, containing a letter he had received from the neighbourhood of Appleby, advising that his Royal Highness the duke had taken the rear of the rebel army, and that he had called out the country in order to stop the rest, which gave great spirits to everybody. But I am sorry that we have no confirmation, nor, indeed, any fresh intelligence since that time. However, the stocks are got up considerably, and they still hold.

Yesterday we had advice that the transports had left Dunkirk, but whether they had troops on board, or to what place, we were not informed. But this morning the intelligence from Lloyd's is that two Dover privateers had taken three, sunk two, and burnt one transport, and driven twenty more transports on shore, where it is supposed they must be lost, as the wind has blown high from the west for days past.

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The Lord Advocate to the Hon. Baron Craigie.

LONDON, February 1, 1746.

DEAR BROTHER: — I have yours of the 25th. As to the work I recommended to John, it is of some importance that it should be done. At the same time, it is attended with a good deal of difficulty to find people that know the rebels, and who at the same time are willing to speak out. The difficulty is increased by Mr. Dundas's resignation, which makes it improper for him to act, and he does not incline that another should act until the acceptance of his resignation is notified to him in form.

You will see by the prints that we have no news other than retailing in different shapes what we receive from Scotland. I confess I think the rebellion hath as dangerous an appearance as it had at any time; for, should the army now under the command of the duke meet with any check, I think he is very wise that could foretell the consequences of so dismal an event. I pray God may avert it, and therefore I believe you will suppose we are in a good deal of anxiety till we hear from Scotland. My compliments to the lads.

I am yours, etc., ROB. CRAIGIE.

The Lord Advocate to the Hon. Baron Craigie.

LONDON, 22d February, 1746.

DEAR BROTHER: — I have none of yours these two posts, and since my last we have little new

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here. All things go as I wrote you in my last, but we begin to imagine, from our advices from Scotland, that the rebellion is not so near ended as we formerly supposed; and we begin to be in pain for the Earl of Loudon, especially that this morning the admiralty was acquainted by express that Commodore Knowles had taken two French transports with five hundred men of Count Fitz-James's regiment of horse on board, with the count himself, and some of their general officers, with £5,000 sterling; also some cannon, stores, etc., and four other ships sailed from Dunkirk and Ostend with some more troops for Scotland, and that some of the king's ships are gone in chase of them. We cannot doubt but these embarkations are known to the rebels. I believe I shall accept of the vacant gown in the session.

I am yours, etc., ROB. CRAIGIE.

The Lord Justice Clerk to the Duke of Atholl.

EDINBURGH, 8th March, 1746.

MY LORD:—The army of the rebels being now in the northern parts of this country, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland being on his march to disperse them, I have the honour of his Majesty's command, signified to me by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, to acquaint your lordship that it is his Majesty's pleasure that your lordship, and all other civil officers, assist his Royal Highness in the best manner that may

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be in your power; and his Majesty has commanded me to transmit accounts of the behaviour of the several civil officers in this respect. These officers were not created for being of use in times of peace only, — they were intended for the support of the government in times of war also; and your lordship cannot but foresee what pernicious consequences a failure of duty in matters of this importance may produce, and therefore it seems unnecessary that I should warn your lordship of the danger of every officer who may be guilty of the smallest neglect, when so much may depend upon an exact performance of his duty. But as your lordship knows it is the indispensable duty of your office, so I cannot doubt that it is no less your lordship's inclination as a loyal subject to his Majesty, and a sure friend of our present happy constitution, to give a cheerful and ready obedience to so just and so necessary a command.

I need not mention to your lordship the particulars wherein you may be assisting to his Royal Highness. It is sufficient in general to tell your lordship that you ought in your station to do all that lies in your power for accommodating and supplying the army in everything necessary, and for distressing and weakening the rebels; and your lordship ought also to send to or bring his Royal Highness, or proper officer commanding under him, the earliest and best intelligence that you can procure of the rebels, their number, their

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motions, or designs; and for that end your lordship ought to use the utmost diligence to procure such intelligence.

Your lordship must likewise, with all despatch, communicate these his Majesty's commands to the several baillies of regality, magistrates of burghs, and justices of the peace, within your shire, at least to such of them as have continued in their duty and loyalty to his Majesty, and transmit to them copies of this letter; and you will send me from time to time accounts of your proceedings in pursuance of these orders, and give notice to these other civil officers within your shire that they in like manner send me accounts of their proceedings, that thereby I may be enabled, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, to transmit accounts of the behaviour of the several civil officers. And it must be satisfactory to all such as shall faithfully perform their duty, to know that full accounts of their conduct will be laid before his Majesty.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

AND. FLETCHER.

To the Duke of Atholl, Sheriff of Perth.

The Lord Advocate to the Hon. Baron Craigie.

LONDON, 20th March, 1746.

DEAR BROTHER: — I have none from you by last post. I suppose no alteration has happened in your situation. That is much our case

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till this morning, when we had an express from the Duke [of Cumberland], dated at Aberdeen, the 13th. His van had marched that morning. The rest of the army was to follow. The rebels went from Inverness to Gordon Castle; the Pretender was at Elgin. The rebels had blown up Fort George at Inverness, and had taken Fort Augustus. The Grants had agreed to a neutrality, and Lady Seaforth had joined the rebels. If these accounts hold true, it is supposed the rebels may give the duke the slip; may march through Argyllshire to Dumbarton, and thence, if joined by French or Spanish succours, advance once more to England and distress us for a campaign.

To-morrow we vote the annual subsidy for the King of Sardinia, which will finish our affairs before Easter. However, we do not adjourn till Thursday next. Sir Charles Gilmour sets out for Scotland the beginning of next week.

I am yours, etc.,

ROB. CRAIGIE.

The Lord Advocate to the Hon. Baron Craigie.

LONDON, 24th April, 1746.

DEAR BROTHER:—I congratulate you on the news of the duke's victory. It arrived yesterday at noon by an express from the lord justice clerk, who sent the letters he had received from Aberdeen, containing the accounts brought from Inverness by a gauger, and the accounts the Duke

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of Atholl got from the minister of Morellin, that he had received from two gentlemen from Inverness. They are this day confirmed by Lord Bury, the Earl of Albemarle's eldest son, aid-de-camp to the duke. You will have the particulars more fully than we. We hear the Duke of Perth is killed.

We shall soon resolve on the duration of the session of Parliament. Mr. Winnington's death I much regret. I dined with him the day before he sickened. We have no foreign mail since my last. I am yours, etc.,

R. C.

THE END.

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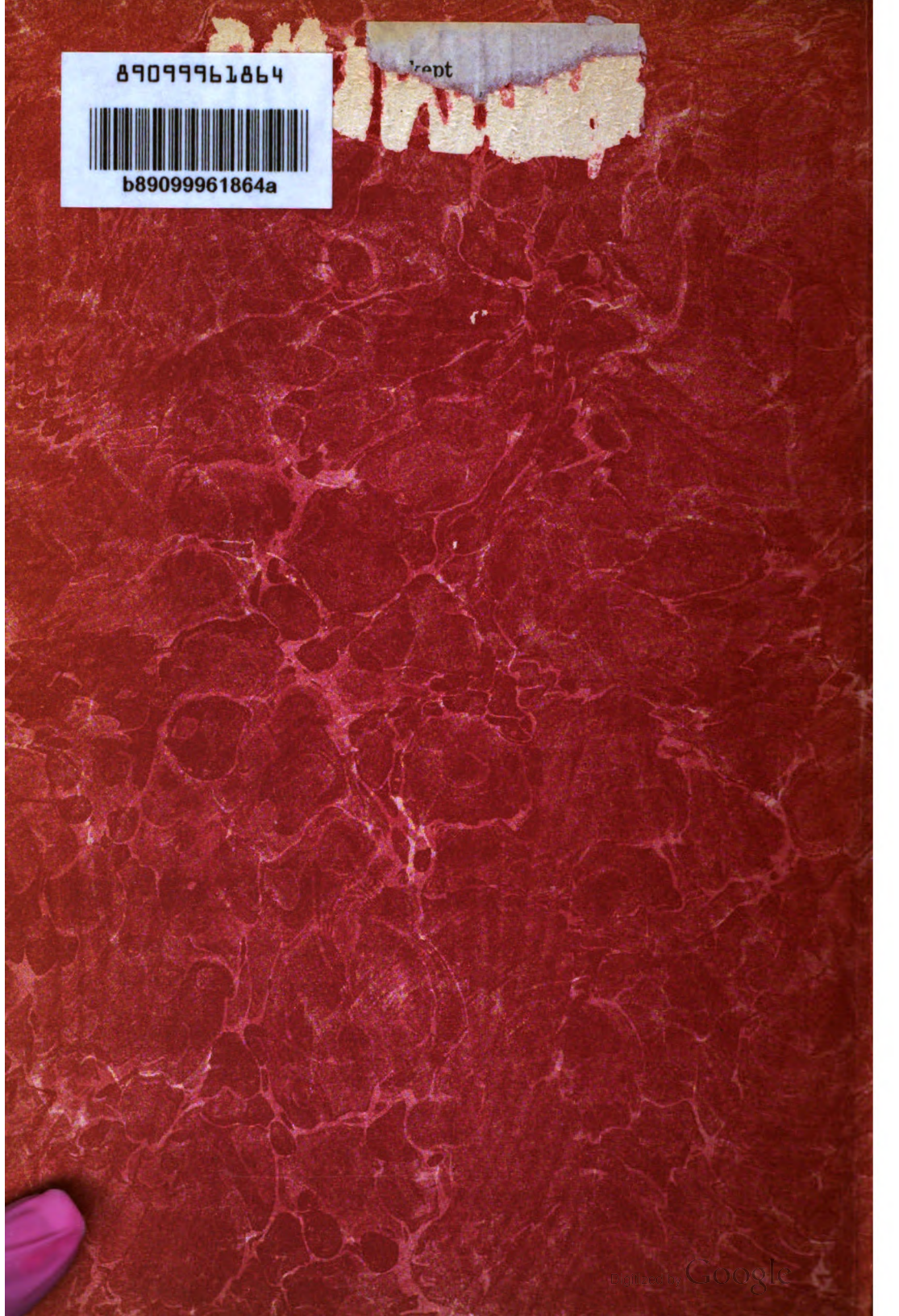
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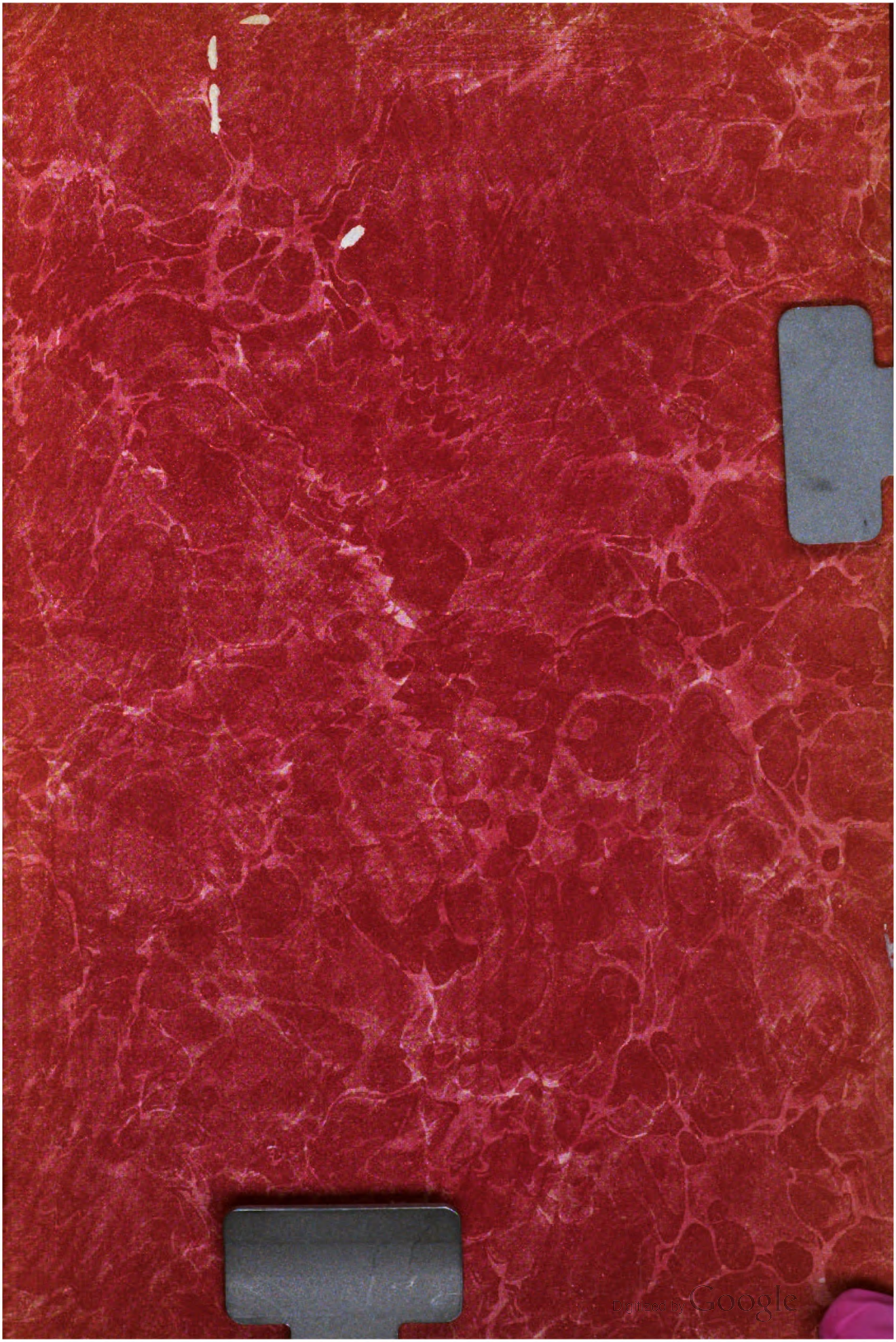
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